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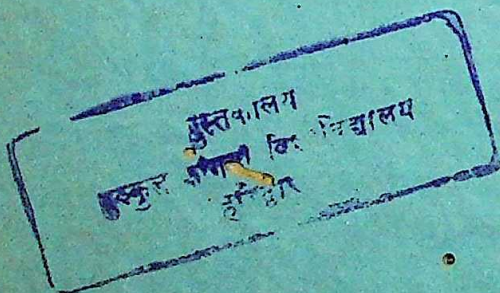
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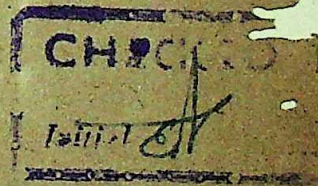
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# HUMOUR IN THE KUMĀRASAMBHAVA UNVEILED.

BY

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*Advocate, Shiyali.*

वररुचिरीश्वरदत्तः श्यामिलकः शूद्रकश्च चत्वारः ।

एते भाणान् बभूवुः का शक्तिः कालिदासस्य ॥ (चतुर्भाषी)

An ancient critic seems to have been struck very much by the deficiency of humour in Kālidāsa; humour, such as he found in the Bhāṇas of Vararuci, Īśvaradatta, Śyāmilaka or Śūdraka. This critic seems to have been very much impressed by the subtle and delicate observation of life, the refined and ironical touch and gentle gaiety that pervade the Bhāṇas of the said four authors. Kālidāsa, so far as we know, has written no Bhāṇas or Prahasaṇas, but at the same time, there is nowhere in his Nāṭakas that sombre seriousness which we find in Bhavabhūti. Kālidāsa's works are irradiated with a divine light. His genius has transmuted everything into fairy hues. But still we ask where humour comes in. His Vidūṣakas are more conventional than original creations of his genius. Let us therefore inquire whether Kālidāsa was really destitute of Hāsyā-Rasa.

Though Hāsyā-Rasa appears to be a familiar enough thing, most of us if asked about its exact psychology are likely to feel like the Vidūṣaka in the Bhagavadajjukiya who said "I am said to represent humour but I do not know what humour is." One of the latest books on English humour adopts this as the best definition viz., humour is "thinking in fun while feeling in earnest." This means that the true humourist must be able to live in such a deep intimacy with real feeling and emotions that he finds it difficult and distasteful to reveal them and if he should think of them at all he is quite likely to do a great deal of thinking in fun. The Hāsyā-Rasa of Indian poetics is a much wider conception than the humour of the western critics, with its many varieties of wit, irony, sarcasm, satire, parody, etc. We will first turn to the Nāṭya-Śāstra of Bharata.



Bharata, treating Śṛṅgāra as the strongest and most fundamental of human emotions, relates Hāsyā to it by pointing out that Hāsyā makes light of this emotion and thus derives its character of 'Hāsyā'. Thus Hāsyā seems to stand at the opposite pole of Śṛṅgāra. This conception, no doubt, is faithfully embodied in the Bhāṇas of Vararuci, etc. Especially the Bhāṇa, Pāṇatāḍitaka, of Śyāmikaka, really reaches a lofty height of delicate humour in this direction.

Abhinavaguptācārya, in commenting on the passage of Bharata, points out that 'incongruity' is the soul of humour. And as incongruity is not any peculiar feature of Śṛṅgāra alone, it is permissible to relate Hāsyā to the other Rasas as well. When Mārīca, in fear of Rāma, turns hermit, dwells in an Āśrama and explains Rāmasvarūpa to Rāvaṇa, we have the parody of Sānti itself. As Abhinavagupta goes on to observe, Hāsyā-Rasa unwinds, so to speak, the intensity and concentration that characterise the other Rasas and makes them *Ābhāsa* i.e., dilutes them. But this *Ābhāsa* is *Lalitābhāsa*, as the Bhāva-prakāśa puts it. Thus the enjoyment in humour springs from this *Lalitābhāsa*, that is to say, this delightful unwinding relaxation.

The Bhāva-prakāśa also gives us the idea, viz., "You laughed because you loved." Thus sympathy and not antipathy was the secret of humour, though the English critics are not agreed as to the attitude of the humourist to his comic characters being one of complete amity. There is no doubt that the Indian conception displays a profounder psychological insight than the English one in every way.

It must at once be conceded that the passages in Kālidāsa's works which we can recall as provoking laughter even in a moderate degree are few and far between and can almost be counted on the fingers.

There is only one scene in his works, and that in the greatest of them all, viz., the Kumārasambhava. Here, in the eighth canto, we can not but laugh and the poet, we feel, must have laughed, if at least, for once. But this one laughing seems to compensate for the lack of laughter in other places in his works. Applying the test of Abhinavagupta, we have to find out how the incongruity arises and for this purpose we have to examine the whole poem.



## HUMOUR IN THE KUMĀRASAMBHAVA UNVEILED 3

In the first canto the poet paints the sublime in the Himālayas and introduces us to the heroism of Sati, who, unable to brook the insult offered by her father, Dakṣa, burns herself in the fire generated by her own Yogic powers. She is reborn as the daughter of Himavān and is the very perfection of maidenly beauty, grace and charm. Nārada who is conceived as a kind of deity of humour does good to the world through what appears as mischief. Mischief is a form of humour. If we want to understand the humour of the Kumārasambhava, we have to look at it through the eyes of Nārada, who, after meeting Umā at the very outset and inspiring her with the divine desire of marrying Śiva, vanishes altogether from our view, but he is there hiding behind the curtain and we can hear his laughter at every stage. Nārada probed into the future and knew what was to happen in the end. He watched behind the curtain chuckling within himself as he went on looking at scene after scene. That Śiva should have quietly accepted Pārvatī to serve him and never foreseen the danger to himself is the point of the humour in the first canto. Śiva believed thoroughly in himself and his mastery over the passions. He fancied he was invulnerable to woman's beauty though it came embodied in the transcendental perfection of Pārvatī. But behind the curtain, Nārada chuckles. We may almost overhear him exclaiming. "Old man ! persist in your delusions. Soon wilt thou become a slave to her whom thou thinkest but Prakṛti's doll."

In the second canto the gods go to Brahmā and his answer to their supplication, especially his use of the expression '*Umā-rūpa*,' is very significant. For Umā is as yet not a name of Pārvatī, but she will be getting that name only when her mother will dissuade her from *tapas*, for which she will later on be retiring, to win the heart of Śiva. His answer really means that Pārvatī by her *tapas* will attract Śiva, as magnet the iron, and that the gods may look ahead in that direction. But the gods understood not the words of Brahmā and set themselves to unite the two as if their striving would be of any avail in the matter. Again Nārada must have chuckled to think that the gods should meddle in what was no business of theirs without knowing the consequences.

In the third canto, which is the soulimest part of the whole poem, we have Manmatha and Mādhava striving to awaken Śiva to a sense of Pārvatī's beauty. The poet's genius is at its highest



point and we are introduced into the innermost sanctuary of peace, the soul's citadel, where Śiva has entrenched himself, and the attempt of Manmatha is most ludicrous and preposterous. Manmatha was burnt to ashes and Śiva is victorious for the moment. But behind the curtain can be heard Nārada exclaiming 'Manmatha is dead; long live Manmatha'. The third eye of Śiva which reduced him to ashes will soon open again but not in fire. The seriousness of the Yogin and the conquest of passion are suggested by the poet in passages of the loftiest grandeur and from the point of view of humour the emotion which was afterwards to be unwound is at the highest point.

The whole of the fourth canto is filled with the lamentations of Rati bewailing the loss of Manmatha. But when her wailing is about to be translated into a dire deed, a voice comes to her, saying that when Umā marries Śiva her husband would come back to life. Whose is this voice if not Nārada's?

Though this message is apparently one of consolation still it is full of humour and suggestive of the coming events. The tension of the situation grows from canto to canto and humour is still veiled and is apparent only to the detached soul of Nārada.

Umā dons the robes of the hermit and retires into the forest to perform *tapas*. Śiva at last is conquered by her austerity, where her charms have failed to prevail, and He goes out of his own accord to meet her. The humour has almost delivered itself out and Śiva himself in disguise as Brahmacārin describes Śiva as a worthless fool. He at last throws off his disguise and declares himself to be the slave of Umā. We can hear Nārada behind the scenes exclaiming, "you were out to secure Umā and only wanted some pretext or other." Śiva would hardly wait for Umā to get her father's permission and it is Umā herself that forbids him and Śiva has to submit, no doubt, with woe-be-gone face.

We have already come to the sixth canto now. In this canto, the Ṛṣis are sent to Himavān to formally solicit the hand of the bride. The date for the marriage is fixed and Śiva is so eager that he finds it very difficult to wait even for the few days that preceded the marriage-date. It is now the poet's turn to laugh and he laughs in the following stanza :

पशुपतिरपि तान्यहानि कुञ्छा-

दगमयदद्रिसुतासमागमोत्कः ।



## HUMOUR IN THE KUMĀRASAMBHAVA UNVEILED 5

कमपरमवशं न विप्रकुर्यु-

विमुमपि यदमी स्पृशन्ति भावाः ॥

The seventh canto is almost pure humour. It bubbles with fun and frolic. Kālidāsa has loved to depict Śiva in his character of the son-in-law. We have no doubt that the soul of Kālidāsa loved to linger upon the son-in-law aspect of Śiva. To him the mirth and humour of the situation were as much worth describing as the sublimity of the Yogin which is presented to us in the third canto. Śiva bedecks himself duly as befits the bride-groom; his snakes and serpents, he transforms into fragrant garlands and bracelets; the Vibhūti becomes sandal paste; the eye in the forehead becomes the *tilaka*; in fact, everything that, before, was revolting and horrible is metamorphosed into things of beauty. (This is exactly the alchemy that Kālidāsa wants to depict in this epic *viz.* the transmutation of earth into heaven). He must have looked proud and we can almost overhear the taunts levelled at him and we can almost see him smiling foolishly and becoming the son-in-law butt. He goes through every rite of marriage. He prostrates before elders and Brahmā is at his wit's end as to what blessing to bestow. He must have been puzzled and tickled at the Yogin that was, having transformed himself into a tiptop son-in-law. Such is the humour of the gods. Manmatha is now introduced to meet Śiva face to face and he must have blushed to see the dreaded god in his new role supplicating him for some of those very shafts that formerly provoked the third eye.

The humour becomes much more exuberant in the eighth canto, in fact too exuberant for the critics. The honeymoon of Śiva, Kālidāsa could not pass over. He describes with loving detail and does not omit its many humorous situations. Śiva becomes the ideal bridegroom, for he satisfied the heart of his mother-in-law, Menakā. We all know that when a Hindu son-in-law is approved by his mother-in-law, the son-in-law is regarded as having grown perfect in folly. Śiva by satisfying Menakā's heart is thus presented to us as perfect in folly. When Śiva leaves Pārvatī to perform Sandhyā, Pārvatī manifests her jealousy and taunts him for preferring Sandhyā to herself. The humour of all this would be very apparent if the whole thing were acted before us.

Considering the poem as a whole, the humour is at first extremely subtle and delicate. It begins in very low tones and is



almost inaudible. At this stage, the sublimity and spiritual grandeur almost entirely throw the humour into the background. It is apparent only to the detached soul of Nārada. Little by little, this sublimity and seriousness are transformed; the humour grows louder and louder and in the seventh and the eighth canto becomes almost obstreperous. From the heights of the Himālayas where eternal silence reigns, we are led step by step into the very nuptial chamber of God. This transition by its polar paradoxes and situations is bound to be attended with peaks of laughter. Kālidāsa has achieved almost a miracle in wedding humour with sanctity. We are made to laugh at the sacred even while it remains as sacred as ever before. Kālidāsa walks undoubtedly at the edge of the precipice in this respect. Humour and seriousness are generally considered as poles apart, and in trying to depict God as a kind of supreme and glorified fool towards the end of the poem, Kālidāsa taxes his own genius to the utmost. It is his glory that he has preserved the divine character of Śiva and Pārvalī even while making us laugh.

Laughter at the stage at which it is evoked in the Kumārasambhava is itself a form of beatitude and becomes sacred.

The Bhāgavata narrates the stories of several people who attained to God through various kinds of emotions such as, *krodha*, *bhaya* etc. But it does not tell us of anybody who laughed himself into the presence of God. Kālidāsa in the Kumārasambhava makes us ascend a peak of vision where laughter itself may become the gateway to the Supreme. Come to the top of Kailāsa, the poet seems to say and laugh to your heart's content. The gods are fools and so are we and let us together laugh and dance in folly's dance. It is from this point of view that we can answer the criticism of some critics who regard the eighth canto as a blot on the poem. All critics agree that the eighth canto is the work of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa was anything but a prude. His soul loved everything in the world and at the same time he was far removed from the seriousness or moroseness of the dry ascetic. His object seems to have been to tear the mask of prudishness from off the faces of men. He has depicted the loftiest beauty in the maiden 'Uṣṇā'. He has depicted the soul of the Yogin in Śiva. He has depicted the conquest of that soul over mere physical beauty. He has given to us the great message of renunciation as the secret of undying love. After doing all this, he seems to throw open the nuptial



## HUMOUR IN THE KUMĀRASAMBHAVA UNVEILED 7

chamber of Śiva and let us peep in. The critics exclaim with horror 'oh this is awful.' But Kālidāsa would say, "What you see in the nuptial chamber is as much a part of God as what you saw in the forest. I have redeemed the dross from it and if you have understood me, you can look into the nuptial chamber and regard it with as much veneration as everything else that I have depicted."

The seventh canto of the Kumārasambhava parallels in some respects the seventh canto of the Raghuvamśa where the wedding of Aja with Indumatī is described. But at the same time the contrast is very striking. In the Raghuvamśa the wedding follows the glorious Svayaṁvara of Indumatī. In the Kumārasambhava, in place of the Svayaṁvara, we have the austerities of Umā. Similarly the eighth canto of the Kumārasambhava, describing the amours of Śiva, parallels the nineteenth canto of the Raghuvamśa describing the voluptuousness of Agnivarṇa. The Śṛṅgāra described in the Raghuvamśa is of earth, earthly; but the one in the Kumārasambhava is purified and sublimated. Kālidāsa in his Kumārasambhava pushed back earth into secret heaven and spilled all secret heaven upon earth.



## ARJUNA'S PENANCE OR BHAGIRATHA'S

BY

VICTOR GOLOUBEV

*Translated by*

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The following translation of the annexure to the report of a general meeting of the Societe Asiatique, held on the 18th June, 1914, published in the *Journal Asiatique* 1914, (Vol. IV, pp. 209-12), will enable scholars who have no access to the French original to see the exact steps in the new interpretation of a celebrated work of art. This interpretation was first proposed by Prof. Goloubew and is now being generally accepted, though some scholars still prefer the older interpretation.

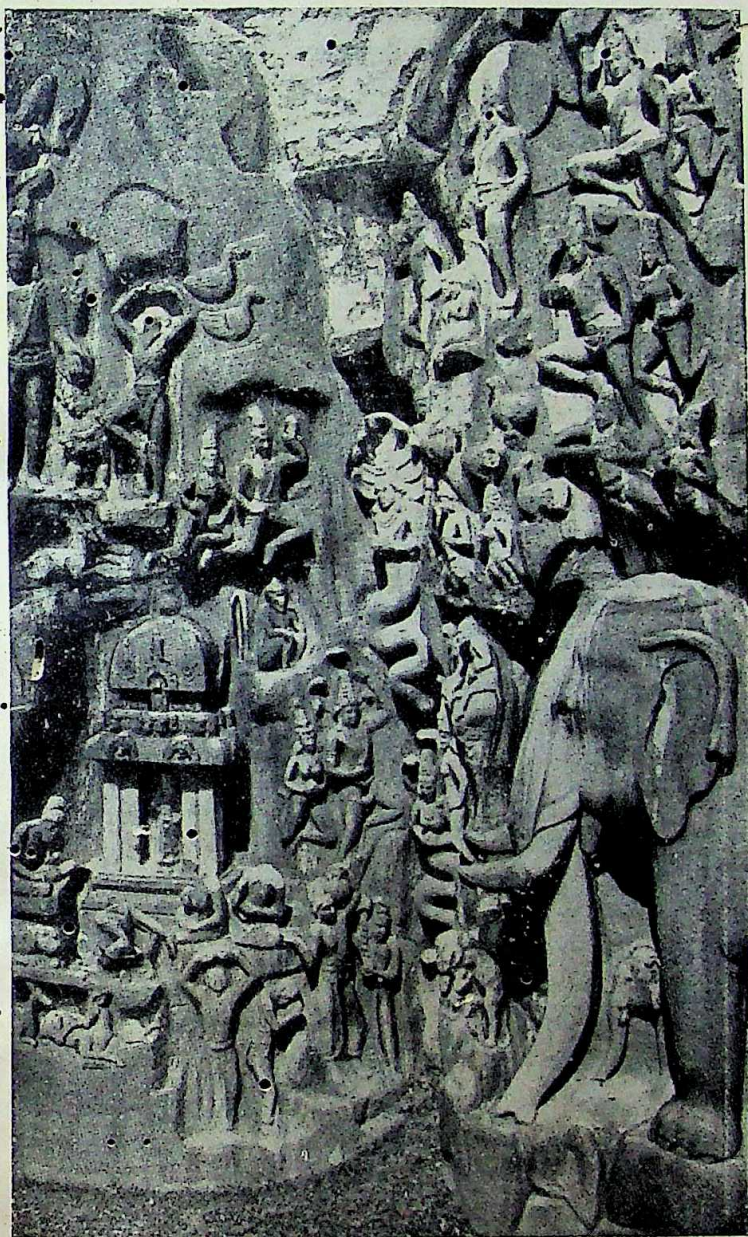
*"Arjuna's cliff at Māvalipuram and the descent of the  
Ganges on earth, according to the Rāmāyana and  
the Mahābhārata.*

Among the many problems that the temples and the sculptured rocks of Māvalipuram set to us, figures that of deciding the subject which is found related in detail on the cliff said to be that of Arjuna. The high-relief which it shows is among the most important in India alike for richness of the composition and for perfection of technique.

The length of the rock is about 27 metres on a height of 9. A deep fissure separates it in two parts. The southern side ends in a temple of the purest Pallava Style.

The high-relief in question comprises nearly a hundred and fifty persons or animals, adapted in a marvellous fashion to the rock which serves as the landscape. Prominently visible, close to a god, who is easily recognised to be Śiva, is sculptured a penitent in the distinct attitude of mortification. He supports himself on one leg, the hands joined above his head; he has a long beard, and long hair; the brahmanical thread descends cross-wise from his left shoulder. For many years, we believed we saw, in this ascetic, the Pāṇḍava Arjuna at the moment when





• Mahābalipuram—Bhagīratha's penance.







## ARJUNA'S PENANCE OR BHAGĪRATHA'S ?

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he imposed on himself his long trial in order to obtain the invincible arms of Indra. Nevertheless, this interpretation was never considered to be definitive. It did not explain the general sense of the composition of which the centre is found indubitably marked by the medial fissure of the rock. The Nāgas sculptured in the depth of this fissure led Fergusson to believe that it was a case of serpent-worship. In agreement with our colleague M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, and after having studied the problem minutely, I believe I can submit to you, gentlemen, a new solution, equally founded on a text of the Mahābhārata. The subject should be, according to our opinion, the "Descent of the Gaṅgā on the earth."

The point of departure of our interpretation was the incontestable fact that the fissure of the rock simulates a river. At the time of the monsoon, and before the opening was closed by the attentions of the Archaeological survey, the rain water fell in a cascade bathing the bodies of the Nāgas and the end of the trunk which is extended by the magnificent elephant sculptured to the right. All the persons and all the animals are seen to turn towards this river. It is thus evident that here is a capital fact, of cosmic importance. Now a similar fact is related to us in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Rāmāyaṇa ; the king Bhagīratha, after a penance of a thousand years, secured from Śiva<sup>1</sup> the descent on earth of the celestial Gaṅgā. This is the precise moment that we find represented to us here.

It is easy to follow detail by detail, the narrative of the great epic poems, to recognise the two heavenly proofs of the grandiose event, the prodigious fall of the Gaṅgā in the lower world, the Nāgas indicating the route of the impetuous flow, the anchorites surrendering themselves to joy, and the great saints who mutter prayers in a low voice. As to the storm of the poem, the artist of Māvalipuram has left it to the care of Nature itself which, during the North-East monsoon, surrounds the rock with its clouds and its lightnings.

It is interesting to note that, in a temple (cave) near the high-relief, the Pallava sculptors have represented on the inner

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1. More literally: 'obtained from Śiva that he made to descend on the earth the celestial Gaṅgā'.



wall the divine shepherd Kṛṣṇa supporting in the air the formidable burden of mount Govardhana and thus sheltering against the celestial cataracts the shepherds and the flocks of Nanda. It is not certainly by chance that, side by side, we find the two supreme divinities of Hinduism, in an action of which the aim is to protect humanity from the inclemencies of the tempest and from the dangers of drought.

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## A PROBLEM OF DRAVIDIC PHONOLOGY—

TAMIL MEDIAL -Y-, -ś- AND KANNADA -S-.

BY

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In his *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages* (2nd ed., pages 153, 158, 215) Caldwell poses an interesting but complicated problem of Dravidic phonology: "On comparing Canarese with Tamil, we often find *s* where we should have expected *y*- e.g., *hesar*, *pesar* Can. 'a name' instead of *peyar*, Tam. It seems unsafe, however, to assume that in these cases *y* was the original and *s* the corruption. It may as well be that *s*- was the original and *y* the corruption. The Tamil *peyar* may therefore be a softened form of the Canarese *pesar*, and what renders this more likely is that the Tamil *peyar* itself is still further softened into *pēr*. In high Tamil, as in Malayālam, the softened form is often preferred by the poets as more elegant. It may possibly therefore be more ancient—e.g., *paim*, green, is in both languages more poetical than *paśum*. All that is certain with regard to such cases is, that *y* and *ś* often change places. The existence, however, of a dialectic change from *ś* to *y*, as apparent especially in the southern districts, is clearly proved by the change Sanskrit derivatives have undergone" (p. 153). "*y* changes into *ś*. It has been shown that *ch*, *ś* and *j* are softened into *y* in Tamil. Notwithstanding this, and in direct opposition to it, we find in colloquial Tamil, especially in that of the southern districts, a tendency also to harden *y* into *ś*. Where *ś* ought to be, it is pronounced as *y*, and where *y* ought to be, it is pronounced as *ś*—e.g., *paśi*, hunger, is mispronounced by the vulgar *payi*; whilst *vayaṛu*, the belly, is transformed into *vaśaṛu*. This change of *y* to *ś* is not confined to the south, though it is more frequently met with there. Even in Madras, *payanṅal*, boys, is pronounced *paśanṅal*, and *ayal*, near, is not only pronounced but written *aśal*. The change of *y* into *ś* and again conversely of *ś* into *y*, might seem to be owing to some peculiar perversity, but doubtless there is a cause for the



change in each case, and hence it is not always easy to determine which is the original and which the corruption: Where *y* is used euphonicly to prevent hiatus, it does not change to *ś*." (p. 158). "I should be prepared to admit that in these and similar instances, *y* may possibly be older than *ś*." (p. 215)

Caldwell has left the problem unsolved in his book; and it still remains without an adequate and satisfactory explanation. The question, however, is of the utmost importance in the reconstruction of Dravidic bases and the discussion of their inter-relationships. A proper approach to this question has to be made with reference not merely to the southern speeches (where, however, the problem stares us in the face) but also to the central and north Dravidian dialects which, if carefully examined, might shed significant light on this matter.

I give below a list of relevant words which raise the issue.



## A PROBLEM OF DRAVIDIC PHONOLOGY

13

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF COGNATE DRAVIDIAN WORDS INVOLVING THE PROBLEM OF -y-, ś-, s.

Tam. lite- -rary.	Tam. col- loquial.	Malayā- lam.	Telugu.	Kannāḍa.	Tulu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
<i>ayal</i> (neighbourhood); <i>aśai</i> (to move); <i>ayar-</i> (to be drowsy).	<i>aśal</i> .	<i>ay-avū</i> (movement); <i>ayakk-</i> (to send).	<i>asi-y-āḍ-</i> (to move)	<i>a y-</i> (to move); <i>ay-du</i> (to approach); <i>asi</i> (to move); <i>ayil-</i> (to be drowsy); <i>asur-</i> (to be fatigued).						
<i>ey-</i> (to shoot arrow).		<i>ey.</i>	<i>ē y-</i> (to fling).	<i>ey</i> (to shoot arrow); <i>eyi</i> (porcupine).		<i>e-mba</i> (to separate)		<i>?asr</i> (to tremble).		
<i>iyāṅgu</i> (to appear).				<i>esaka</i> (shine)						
<i>kay-</i> (to be bitter).	<i>kaśa-</i> .	<i>kay-</i> .		<i>kay</i> (bitter); <i>kasa</i> (astrigent).	<i>kasa</i> (bitter); <i>kaiṇa</i> (bitter).		<i>kai- t-</i> (to be astrigent).			
<i>ēy-</i> (to be joined, suited).				<i>esag-</i> (to be attached).						



Tam. literary.	Tam. colloquial.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Küi.	Göndi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brähui.
śey (field).		cey.	cē-mu.	ka y, key (field); kesaru (wet field).	key (standing crop); kesaru (mud in a wet field).			? x a j j (earth, mud).		bei (green grass fit for grazing).
pay- (green, tender). payaru (green gram);	paś-	pay-, paś- payaru.	pasuru (green); pai ru (corn).	paśi (greenness); payar (green corn); pasar (green gram); pasule (child).	paśi (green); pai ru (green corn); pai ya (child); paśi (boy)					
payal (boy).	paśal.									
pāy- (to spread).		pāy.	pāy.	pāy (to spread read) pase (mat).	pāy, paia (mat).	pās-pa (to cause to spread).				



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Tam. literary.	Tam. colloquial.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
<i>vē-</i> (to be hot).		<i>vey-</i>	<i>vē-</i>	<i>bey-</i> (to be hot); <i>bisil</i> (sunshine)	<i>bēy-</i> (to be boiled).	<i>vē-va.</i>	<i>vē-</i>	<i>bi'i-</i>		<i>bis-</i> (to be cooked); <i>bās-</i> (to be hot).
<i>veyyil</i> (sunshine).					<i>oyi-</i> (to take away); <i>ujjalū</i> (swing).	<i>ō-</i> (to take away.)	<i>oi-</i> (to take away)			
<i>uy-</i> (to take away).			<i>cf. uyyalu</i> (swing).		<i>usuru.</i>					
<i>uyir</i> (life.)	<i>uśir.</i>	<i>uyir.</i>	<i>usuru.</i>	<i>usuru.</i>				<i>ujj-</i> (to live).		<i>cf. ust</i> (heart).
<i>kāy-</i> (to be hot).		<i>kāy-</i>	<i>kāy-</i>	<i>kāy</i> (to be hot).	<i>kāy.</i>	<i>kā-nda.</i>	<i>kās.</i>	<i>xāy</i> (to be hot)	<i>qāy.</i>	<i>cf. xāxar</i> (fire).
<i>vāy</i> (mouth)		<i>vāy.</i>	<i>vāy.</i>	<i>bāy</i> , but <i>cf. bāsul</i> scar caused by a blow).	<i>bāy.</i>	<i>vāy.</i>	<i>vāy.</i>	<i>bāi.</i>		<i>bā</i> (mouth).
<i>kāy</i> (fruit);		<i>kāya.</i>	<i>kāya</i> , but <i>kasur</i> (tender fruit).		<i>kāyi.</i>	<i>kā-u.</i>	<i>kaiā</i> (fruit).	<i>xāñja.</i>	<i>q a ñ i</i> (fruit).	



Tām. lite- rary.	Tam. col- loquial.	Malayā- lam.	Telugu.	Kannada.	Tulu.	Kui.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
<i>vayiru, vay- aru</i> (belly).	<i>vaṣaru.</i>	<i>vayaru.</i>		<i>basir</i> <i>basar</i> (belly)	<i>bañji.</i>	<i>bandi.</i>				
<i>peyar</i> (name)		<i>peyar.</i>	<i>pēru.</i>	<i>basur</i> <i>pesar</i> (name) <i>liesar</i>				<i>piñj</i> (to be call- ed.)		? <i>pin.</i>
<i>māy-</i> (to be changed).		<i>māy-</i>	<i>māy</i> (to be des- troyed).	<i>māy</i> , but <i>masul</i> (to disappear)	<i>māy</i> (to be re- moved).					
<i>koy</i> (to reap)		<i>koy-</i>	<i>koy-</i> (to cut).	<i>koy-</i>	<i>koy-</i>	<i>kō-va.</i>	<i>koy-</i>	<i>koy-</i>	<i>qoy-</i>	
<i>tēy-</i> (to be rubbed).	<i>tē s a l</i> (r u b - bing)	<i>tēy-</i>	<i>tē.</i>	<i>tēy.</i>	<i>tēy.</i>	<i>tēja</i> (to be wiped).				
<i>śey-</i> (to do).		<i>cey-</i>	<i>cēy.</i>	<i>key, gey.</i>	<i>key, gey-</i>	<i>ki-, gi-</i>	<i>ka y</i> (hand); <i>ki -to</i> do).			
<i>mey, may</i> (body); <i>me-, mi-</i> (above).		<i>mey-</i>	<i>cf. meyyu</i> (to graze)	<i>may, mey.</i>	<i>mey.</i>		<i>mey</i> (to graze).	<i>me-d</i> (body).		<i>me, mi</i> (above).



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cj. also the following :—

Telugu stems *cēs-*, *cēst-* beside the base *cēy-* (to do).

„ „ *tīs-*, *tīst-* „ „ *tīy-*

Tōḍa *āsnum* (though it to be so) beside Tam. *āyinum*; beside

„ *āyinor* (if it be so) „ „ *ānāl*.

[Tōḍa *o* (I.P.A. *o*) corresponds to *a-* of other dialects, and Tōḍa *-r* stands for *-l*.]

Iruḷa *mespiḱka* (to feed), beside Tamil *meyppi-*.

*Significant points in the above instances.*

(a) First we have to note that *-y-* occurs with greater or lesser frequency in most dialects, including Brāhūi of the north -cf. *bey* (green grass fit for grazing). Even in Kūi *kō-va* (to cut), *nō-va* (to be pained), *vē-va* (to be boiled), one can reasonably postulate an older *-y-* which has now disappeared in connection with the formative particle *-va* used characteristically in Kūi in connection with verbs like these.

(b) *-ś-* of the Tamil colloquial, *-s-* of Kannaḍa and Telugu and *-j-* of Tulu are found mostly in connection with *derivatives* formed with characteristic Dravidian affixes :

Kannaḍa	<i>paṣaru</i>	(green gram)—	formative <i>-ar</i>
	<i>paṣuḷe</i>	(child) —	„ <i>-uḷ</i>
	<i>paṣi</i>	(hunger) —	„ <i>-i</i>
	<i>paṣe</i>	(mat) —	„ <i>-e</i> (= Tam. <i>ai</i> )
	<i>biṣil</i>	(sunshine) —	„ <i>-il</i>
	<i>baṣir</i>	(belly) —	„ <i>-ir</i>
	<i>peṣar</i>	(name) —	„ <i>-ar</i>
	<i>kaṣa</i>	(astringent) —	adj. „ <i>a</i>
Telugu	<i>paṣaru</i>	(green corn)—	„ formative <i>-ar</i>
	<i>kaṣuru</i>	(unripe fruit)—	„
Tulu	<i>paḱa</i>	(mat) —	„ <i>-a</i> (=
			Kann. <i>-e</i> and Tam. <i>-ai</i> )
	<i>paḱi</i>	(green) —	„ <i>-i</i>
	<i>kaṣa</i>	(brackish) —	adj. „ <i>-a</i>

It will be observed (i) that in connection with most of these instances with *-s-* or *-j-*, these speeches possess cognate forms with *-y-* in only a few of the derivatives, but in *all* those instances which we might call the 'primaries'; and, further, (ii) that



*no -s- or -j* occurs in the 'primaries', but only *-y* wherever it is found to occur.<sup>1</sup>

The following are other illustrations in modern Tamil with *-ś-* instead of literary *-y-* in derivatives :

LITERARY	—	COLLOQUIAL
<i>muyal</i> (hare)	—	<i>muśal</i>
<i>iyai</i> (to agree)	—	<i>iśai</i>
<i>puyal</i> (storm)	—	<i>puśal</i>
<i>kayaṅ</i> - (to be squeezed);		<i>kaśaṅ-</i> ;
<i>ayaṟu</i> (mud)	—	<i>aśaru</i>

(c) So far as the central and northern speeches are concerned, the following points may be singled out —

(i) *-y* occurs in the 'primaries' freely in many dialects : *cf.* *kāy-* (to be hot) of the south with Kurukh *xāy-*, Malto *qāy-*; *koy-* (to cut, reap) with Gōṇḍi *koy-* and Kurukh *xoy-*; *vāy*, *bāy* (mouth) with Gaṇḍi *vāy*, Kurukh *bāy*; *kāy* (fruit) with Gōṇḍi *kāiā*; *cf.* further Gōṇḍi *nāy* (dog), *poi-* (to flower), *miy-* (to emerge from), *etc.*

(ii) Gōṇḍi *kās-* (to be hot) Kūi *kaju* (hand) and Brāhūi *bis-* (to be cooked) remain to be explained with reference to *-y-* of their respective cognates in the south.

*-j-* of Kūi *kaju* (hand) and *tēja* (to be wiped,) corresponds to *-y-* of so many dialects that we cannot help postulating here a change of *-y-* to *-j-* ; *cf.* Kūi *āja* (woman) with southern *āyi* (woman) and *cf.* Tuḷu *paja* (mat) with *pāy-* (to spread). *-s-* of Gōṇḍi *kās-* and Brāhūi *bis-* also may, in view of the fact that the cognates of most other dialects show only *-y-*, also be considered to be modifications of *-y-*.

To suppose that *-s-* here represents the original condition of Dravidian is to ignore (i) the value of the presumption arising from the actual existence of *-y-* in cognates in most dialects of Dravidian, (ii) the significance of the process underlying the production of *-s-* or *-j-* in *derivatives* of Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tuḷu, and (iii) the significance of the absence of *-s-* in numerous other forms at least in the central and northern speeches, where we ought (according to this supposition) to expect *-s-*.

1. So far as Tamil is concerned, the forms with medial *-ś-* (corresponding to *-y-*) are mostly found only in the colloquial or in comparatively modern literary texts. Among all our instances, the only exceptions to this rule are *paśa-* (to be green, to lose lustre) and *aśai-* (to move, stir) which are found in the oldest literary works.



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The probabilities, therefore, all point to the fact that *-s-* of Gōṇḍi *kās-* (to be hot) and Brāhūi *bis-* (to be cooked) is secondarily derived from *-y-*.

*The question of the adaptation of I.A. -s-, -j- as -y- in Tamil.*

(a) One of the arguments indicated by Caldwell in the citation given above and used by others to show that *-y-* may be secondary to *-ś-* or *-s-* is that old Tamil adapted I.A. *-ś-*, *-j-* as *-y-* in a few instances like the following :—

IA	<i>ākāśa</i>	—	Old Tam.	<i>ākāyam</i>
„	<i>deśa</i>	—	„	<i>tēyam</i>
„	<i>śmaśāna</i>	—	„	<i>mayānam</i>
„	<i>rājā</i>	—	„	<i>araśan, arayan</i>

We have to bear in mind that this change has not affected all such adaptations, nor is it in these forms absolute, as we have alternants in old Tamil with *-ś-* instead of *-y-*.

Further, the validity of this argument to prove the secondary character of all instances of native *-y-* in Dravidian is extremely doubtful in view of our review of the occurrence of *-y-* in most Dravidian dialects outside Tamil. And in Tamil itself, I.A. *-ś-* may have been adapted as *-y-* on account of the predominance and strength of *-y-* in literary Tamil as distinguished from the colloquial *-ś-*.

(b) In certain dialects of Indo-European, and Indo-Āryan, an original *-s-* has been known to have changed to the aspirate *-h-*, then to *zero*, and then *-y-*. This has led some scholars to postulate this kind of change in Dravidian also. The error, involved in this presumption, of attributing to one language-family a change which is quite common in another, will evidence itself when we consider the probabilities with reference to the actual conditions in Dravidian taken as a whole. The postulate of an original *-s-* like this cannot *satisfactorily* be made in the case of any one of the instances in our list; on the other hand, it is possible for us to account for the sibilants wherever they occur in the above list as having been modifications of *-y-*.<sup>1</sup>

1. (a) The question may arise here whether the origin of this *-y-* could be traced further *back*. The data at our disposal do not warrant anything conclusive, but one may query if in those primary bases where *-y-* is preceded by front vowels it may not have originally cropped up as an off-glide.

(b) Further, correspondences like the following might raise the question of an original *-g-* :



*Phonetic aspects of the change -y- > -ś- > -s-.*

(i) Tamil -y- in actual utterance is a semi-voiced palato-alveolar fricative which easily changes into the sibilant ś by the introduction of a greater current of breath. In Tamil, ś appears generally speaking, completely unvoiced owing to the association of the stronger breath-current in the production of the sibilant. The actual process of change can be noted distinctly when Tamil speakers of the older generation use, side by side in pairs, words like lit. *muyal* (hare) and coll. *muśal*, preferring always the latter in emphatic enunciation.

The voiced variety of ś [*i. e.* *z*] is not met with in Dravidian; in certain dialects like Tuḷu this voiced *z* changes into the voiced affricate *j*.

(ii) The dental sibilant -s- in medial positions is exclusive in Kannaḍa; the palatal -ś- is nowhere seen. Palatal -ś- of Sanskrit words is in the old dialect always adapted as -s- :- *cf.*

IA.	—	Kann. adaptation
<i>daśa</i>	—	<i>dasa</i>
<i>aśoka</i>	—	<i>asōka</i>
<i>āśā</i>	—	<i>āsa</i>
<i>pāśa</i>	—	<i>pāsa</i>

So far as native words are concerned, -s- (corresponding to -y- of 'primaries' in Kannaḍa itself and in other dialects) is found only in *derivatives*. This is also true of Tamil colloquial -ś-. What is the significance of this difference? I feel inclined to take the view that, since -y- when preceded and followed by vowels in derivatives has a tendency to lose its consonantal value (*cf.* Tam. colloquial *pēr* 'name' with *peyar* 'name', *viyar* 'to perspire' with *vēr*), the attempt to stress its individuality in the medial syllable leads to the incorporation of a stronger breath-current and therefore to the change of the fricative -y- to -ś- in Tamil colloquial and to -s- in Kannaḍa (through an intermediate \*-ś- stage).

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South Dr. ā-g- (to become) — Gōṇḍi āi-

Kannaḍa *bāgil* (door) — Tam. *vāvil* — *vāśal*

Tuḷu *muger* (hare) — Tam. *muyal* — coll. Tam. *muśal*

Tuḷu *begaru* (sweat) — Kann. *beṇāru* — Tam. *viyar* — Mal. *viśar*

Tam. *mogaru* (cards), *mōru* (butter-milk) Kann. *mosaru*.

Here too, nothing conclusive can be said, as -g-, instead of being original, may be inorganic, as in Tel. *aruguru*. etc.



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*Conclusion.*

Summing up, we find that

(i) the occurrence of -y- in 'primaries' in almost all dialects of Dravidian evidences its antiquity ;

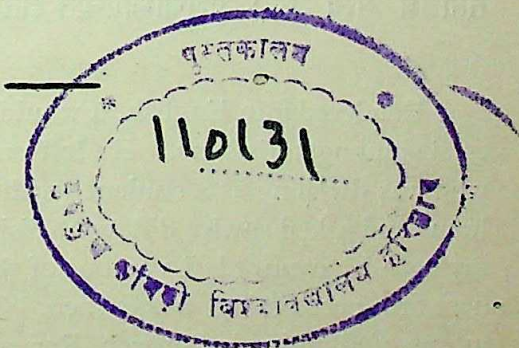
(ii) Tamil -ś- corresponding to -y- is found generally only in the colloquial or in modern texts and *not* commonly in the oldest literary dialect ;

(iii) -ś- of modern Tamil and -s- of Kannaḍa and Telugu and -j- of Tulu (all of them corresponding to -y-) are found in *derivatives only* ;

(iv) the process of change of -y- to -ś- in Tamil colloquial could be noted even today in the parlance of speakers of the older generation when they use forms with -ś- in emphatic enunciation; and possibly the development of -s- (through \*-ś-) in Kannaḍa and Telugu was therefore, ultimately due to the incorporation of a strong breath-current to mark off the individuality of the medial syllable of derivatives.

One is therefore led to suggest that in these instances -y- may be original and -ś-, -j- and -s- secondary.

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## THE STORY OF NĀBHĀNEDIṢṬHA AND ITS JURISPRUDENTIAL BEARINGS.

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The story of Nābhānediṣṭha is as old as the days of the Yajurveda (Taittirīya Saṁhitā) and is thus told :—

मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत्, स नाभानेदिष्ठं ब्रह्मचर्ये वसन्तं  
निरभजत्, स आगच्छत्, सोऽब्रवीत्, कथा मा निरभागिति । न त्वा निरभाक्ष-  
मित्यब्रवीत् । अङ्गिरस इमे सत्वमासते, ते सुवर्गं लोकं न प्रजानन्ति, तेभ्य  
इदं ब्राह्मणं ब्रूहि, ते सुवर्गं लोकं यन्तो य एषां पशवस्ताऽस्ते दास्य-  
न्तीति । तदेभ्योऽब्रवीत्, ते सुवर्गं लोकं यन्तो य एषां पशव आरान्, तानस्मा  
अददुः । तं पशुभिश्चरन्तं यज्ञवास्तौ रुद्र आगच्छत्, सोऽब्रवीत् । मम वा  
इमे पशव इत्यदुर्वै मह्यमिमानित्यब्रवीत्, न वै तस्य ईशत इत्यब्रवीत् यद्यज्ञ-  
वास्तौ हीयते, मम वै तदिति । तस्माद्यज्ञवास्तु नाभ्यवेत्यः सोऽब्रवीत् यज्ञे  
माऽऽभजाय ते पशून्, नाभिमस्य इति । तस्मा एनं मन्थिनः सः स्रग्वमजुहोत्,  
ततो वै तस्य रुद्रः पशून्नाभ्यमन्यत इति ।

(तैत्तिरीयसंहिता, ३-१-९.)

Rendered into English, it would mean, "Manu partitioned his estate amongst his sons. He left out of account, Nābhānediṣṭha who was dwelling as a student (with his preceptor). He returned home and asked "why did you disinherit me?" Manu replied saying "I have not left you out of the heritage. These Aṅgirasas here are performing a sacrifice. They do not well know the means of attaining to Suvarga. Repeat unto them, this Brāhmaṇa. And as they depart heavenwards, they will bestow on you all their cattle." So he said. And they also bestowed on him, all the cattle that belonged to them, as they started for Suvarga. And as he was marching along with the cattle, Rudra came up to him and met him on the sacrificial grounds. And he said unto him



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"They bestowed these on me saying they were mine. These cattle are therefore mine!" "You are not their owner" said the other. "Whatever is left over on the sacrificial ground, that is by right mine. Therefore should one not trespass on the sacrificial ground." Then did Nābhānediṣṭha reply "Allow me, my lord! the fruits of the sacrifice, if by any means you do not desire these cattle." And to that end, he took the ghee offering from the churning vessel and performed a full "Samsrava" offering, wherefrom, pleased, Lord Rudra ceased to care for the cattle."

(Taitt. Samhitā. 3.1.9.)

This same tale occurs again in a more embellished form but with a tame moral in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the R̥g-Veda. It runs as follows :—

नाभानेदिष्ठं वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भ्रातरो निरभजन् । सोऽब्रवीदेत्य किं मह्यमभाक्तेत्येतमेव निष्ठावमववादितारमित्यब्रुवन्तस्माद्वाप्येतर्हि पितरं पुत्र निष्ठावोऽववदितेत्येवाचक्षते । स पितरमेत्याब्रवीत्त्वां ह वाव मह्यं ताताभाक्षुरिति । तं पिताऽब्रवीन्मा पुत्रक तदादृथा अङ्गिरसो वा इमे स्वर्गाय लोकाय सत्रमासते, ते षष्ठं षष्ठमेवाहरागल्य मुह्यन्ति, तानेते सूक्ते षष्ठेऽहनि शंसय, तेषां यत्सहस्रं सत्रपरिवेषणं तत्ते स्वर्ग्यन्तो दास्यन्तीति । तथेति । तानुपैत्यप्रतिगृह्णीत मानवं सुमेधस इति । तमब्रुवन् किङ्कामो वदसीति । इदमेव वः षष्ठमहः प्रज्ञापयानि इत्यब्रवीत् । अथ यद्व एतत्सहस्रं सत्रपरिवेषणं तन्मे स्वर्ग्यन्तो दत्तेति । तथेति । तानेते सूक्ते षष्ठेऽहन्यशंसयत् । ततो वै ते प्र यज्ञमाजानन् प्र स्वर्गं लोकम् ।...तं स्वर्ग्यन्तोऽब्रुवन्नेतत्ते ब्राह्मण सहस्रमिति । तदेनं समाकुर्वाणं पुरुषः कृष्णशवास्युत्तरत उपोत्थोयाब्रवीन्मम वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमिति । सोऽब्रवीन्मह्यं वा इदमदुरिति । तमब्रवीत्तद्वै नौ तवैव पितरि प्रश्न इति । स पितरमैत्तं पिताब्रवीन्ननु ते पुत्रकादू ३ दिव्यदुरेव म इत्यब्रवीत्, तत्तु मे पुरुषः कृष्णशवास्युत्तरत उपोदतिष्ठन्मम वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमित्यादितेति । तं पिताब्रवीत्तस्यैव पुत्रक तत्तत्तु स तुभ्यं दास्यतीति । स पुनरेत्याब्रवीत्तव ह वाव किल भगव इदमिति मे पिताऽऽहेति । सोऽब्रवीत्तदहं तुभ्यमेव ददामि य एव सत्यमवादीरिति ।

(ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम्, २२—९.)

In English, the story would run as follows :—

"The brothers left out without a share, Nābhānediṣṭha, the son of Manu who was dwelling as a student with his preceptor."



He came unto them and asked 'Why have you excluded me from the partition?' They said 'Ask him. He knows the law and can determine the division.' Therefore is it that even now, children call their father 'the knower of the law and the determiner of the division.' He repaired to his father and said 'my sire! They have allotted you to my share.' His father addressed him thus 'my son! Heed them not! These Āṅgirasas here perform a sacrifice for reaching the heavenly world. As often as they reach the sixth day, they go wrong. Repeat unto them these two hymns on the sixth day. And the thousand things they have got ready for the sacrifice, they will offer unto you, when they depart heavenwards.' And Nābhānediṣṭha agreed to it saying 'So be it!'

He then approached them and said "Receive me, the son of Manu, O wise ones!" They asked him "What do you desire, that you address us thus!" "Even this—I will instruct you in the matter of the sixth day's ritual," said he. And he also stipulated "These thousand things that you have got down here together for the sacrifice, these you shall bestow on me, when you proceed to heaven." They agreed and to them he repeated on the sixth day, the two hymns. From that they understood the sacrifice and saw the heavens.

As they were departing for the heavenly world, they said to him "These thousand things are yours. O Brahmin!" And as he was gathering them up, a certain person clad in dark garments rose up in front of him and accosted him thus "These are mine! The sacrificial leavings belong to me." He replied "They surely bestowed it on me." "Then indeed" said the other "let this our question be determined by your father". He then went to his father. Manu asked him "Surely, my child! they gave you (wealth)". "They indeed rewarded me" said he "But then, a certain person, clad in dirty garments rose up towards the north in front of me, and took back everything saying 'All this is mine! All the sacrificial leavings are mine.'" The parent told him "My child! It is even his. But he will present them to you." He went back and said "My lord! My sire declares that all this indeed belongs to you." He then announced "Then will I bestow it all on thee, who hast thus spoken the truth."

(Aitareya. Brāhm. XXII.9.)

Idle though the tale might seem, it yet contains with its narration a world of information regarding the law of Hindu



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inheritance, showing how some of the leading doctrines in Hindu Law, which are honoured even in these days, had their germs laid down firmly during the Vedic period.

The account tells us how Manu divided up his estate amongst his sons. This without more, gives birth to three distinct principles in the Hindu Law of Inheritance and partition *viz.* (i) that a father can effect a division of the estate in his own lifetime (ii) that the sons became entitled by their mere birth to a definite share of the estate (iii) and that inasmuch as the division is mentioned without further qualifying expressions, the division was equal. The last of these is emphatically maintained by Bodhāyanā, who has it मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजदिति श्रुतिः । समशः सर्वेषामविशेषात् ॥ बोधा. धर्म. २, २, १-२. It might remotely be taken to mean and intend also the postponement of the daughters' rights to succession in favour of the immediate rights of the male heirs. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa's wording of the incident is slightly different. It tells us that the brothers effected a partition and it would seem from that account, that it was the brothers that demanded the partition during their father's lifetime, a right recognized even by present day practice. The right to partition by sons even during the lifetime of their parents, as old as the R̥g-Veda, has been admitted by successive generations of law givers till it has come down to this day. Cf. वित्वा नरं पुरुत्रा सपर्यन् पित्रुर्न विब्रेर्विवेदो भरन्त । ऋग्वेद १. ६०. ५. (also Bodh. Dha. 2.2.8 ; and Gaut. 29.2.)

The next sentence informs us that in the partition, Nābhānediṣṭha, who was then in his preceptor's house pursuing his studies, was left out. The Taittirīya text tells us that Manu purposely excluded him from such division. Strict judge and affectionate father as he was, Manu must have felt that his son Nābhānediṣṭha was receiving an education that was to fit him up for life, and that therefore his schooling might be set off against his share and his portion divided amongst his less fortunate and accomplished brothers. Though under the strict letter of the law, a son was entitled to the usufruct of all the joint family property, without being called upon to refund the benefits received in the past at the time of partition, yet it might be, as it obtains in present day practice where a member possessed of sufficient private property, is, if generous enough, at liberty to renounce his share and so benefit the other members, that Manu hoped he would be



able to persuade Nābhānediṣṭha, in view of his being better equipped for life, to release his coparcenary interest in favour of his brothers. The later Brāhmaṇa account however, being desirous of saving Manu from such an unjust partitioning, tells us that the brothers themselves omitted him from the division, leaving them to answer the charge of either gross deceit or mild inadvertence.

But such unfair partition is however liable to be attacked and reopened at the instance of the prejudiced party and Nābhānediṣṭha is not slow to realise his legal position. He at once challenges the partition. He accuses the authors of the division of *mala fides* and prefers his suit. Reopening the partition is a remedy expressly laid down for him, even by present day Hindu Law. *Balkishen v. Ramnarain*, (30.I.A. 139.) is authority for the proposition that a partition to which a member was not a party or which was made during the minority of a member and was unfair and prejudicial to such minor's or member's interests, might be reopened at the instance of such member, in so far as he is concerned. So, he betakes himself to his father and asks him as to why he had been excluded from his share in the partition. Manu, in fact, realizes the justice of his claims. Therefore is it that he seeks to appease him by promise or prospect of other rewards.

The account reveals Manu as directing his son to appropriate to himself the thousands of cattle the Aṅgirasas bestow on him, as a reward for his services in teaching them the verses that should gain for them the heavenly worlds. These presents, Manu knew, were the "gains of learning" which the acquirer thereof was at liberty to treat as self-acquired property. Even now, in a series of decisions culminating in the famous I.C.S. case (*Gokal Chand v. The firm of Hukum Chand*, 40 M.L.J. 327) the British Courts of law have consistently laid down that whatever constituted the "gains of science" was impartible. In the above case indeed, Lord Summer delivering the judgment of the Privy Council expressly observed "Impartibility rested in every case on the slightness or the peculiar character of the education, by which the science was acquired" an observation which eminently fits in with Nābhānediṣṭha's case. Manu imparted to him two hymns, which he was to repeat to the Aṅgirasas and gain the reward of a thousand heads of cattle. Such instruction or education can by no stretch of imagination be held to have been achieved at the expense of the family, or to have cost



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anything to the heritage and any gain resulting from such equipment. Manu held to be impartible and so advised him to retain it himself. This view of Manu's is better explained in the pronouncement of their Lordships of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Mehtaram v. Rewachand*, (34 M.L.J. 327) where they observe "Their Lordships cannot find in the texts of the *Mitākṣara*; any authority — (for the position) — that the gains made personally and without the aid of the joint funds by a member of a joint family, who received an ordinary education suitable to his position, as a member of the family to which he belonged, should in law be regarded as partible and not as his self-acquired property."

. In view of Manu helping him to a competence, Nābhānediṣṭha acquiesced in the partition arrangement effected by his father, and relinquished his share, which enured to the benefit of the brothers. Nābhānediṣṭha then proceeded to the sacrificial hall of the Aṅgirasas and was rewarded with a thousand heads of cattle, which he sought to gather to himself. But, then from the sacrificial ground out stepped Lord Rudra and claimed the cattle as his own. The law of the sacrifice was that Lord Rudra was the master and protector of the sacrificial ground and that the articles and belongings brought in there, passed into his keeping. Lord Rudra became thus, analogous to an usufructuary mortgagee let into the possession of an estate, which he was entitled to retain as against all claimants thereto, till his own dues shall have been paid. Lord Rudra's dues were, as we shall learn hereafter, the merits of a full sacrifice, which accrued to him as soon as the *Saṁsraṇahoma* was performed and as the Aṅgirasas had in their hasty departure to Svarga not performed this, Lord Rudra refuses to part with the belongings. At the time of their ascent to heaven, the Aṅgirasas themselves had no right of possession to the cattle and Nābhānediṣṭha who derived his title only from the Aṅgirasas, could not have a title to them superior to what his donors had.

Nābhānediṣṭha then runs back, advised thereto by Rudra, to his father and consults him with regard to the relative rights of Rudra and himself. He also acquiesces in the position taken up by Rudra and declares the possession to be in Rudra's favour. Still Nābhānediṣṭha was not without his legal remedies. He could still return to his father, report failure of consideration and seek to repudiate his release. Manu seems to have felt the



ridiculous position into which he had placed himself by his hasty and unequal partition, for he still seeks to appease his son and make him agree to the arrangement by a further promise. He promises that Rudra would still return the cattle to him, if he satisfied Rudra's claims.

But why should Rudra return the cattle? And what are his claims? Here comes another delicate and interesting point in the Hindu Law of gifts. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa version gives a lame explanation saying, that Lord Rudra was pleased with his truthfulness and so presented him the thousand heads of cattle as a reward. But the text of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā gives the true reason. The Āṅgīrasas had not performed the "*Saṁsraṇahoma*" or the final offering which really concludes every sacrificial rite and so their sacrifice was not complete and till that was completed Lord Rudra was the proprietor of the sacrificial altar and the belongings therein. The "*Saṁsraṇahoma*" is that last offering, wherein the sacrificer pours away all the remaining ghee in a single offering and thus empties the churning vessel called the "*manthanī*." When this is done, the rite is complete and Lord Rudra is relieved from his supervision and guard over the fire altar. Then does he depart from the grounds, taking with him the fruits of a completed and full sacrifice. This final, "*Saṁsraṇahoma*" Nābhānediṣṭha performs, discharging in full the claims of Lord Rudra. Lord Rudra being thus satisfied, withdraws his claims and Nābhānediṣṭha is allowed to take possession of the cattle bestowed on him.

To understand this explanation aright, one must realize that in the Vedic texts, all questions of law and religion, are sought to be answered in terms of the sacrifice and sacrificial usage. "*The Saṁsraṇahoma*" amounts to a final discharge to any claims that might be preferred against an estate. Nābhānediṣṭha taking up all the effects of the Āṅgīrasas stood in the position of an *universal donee* and he was as such liable to meet the donor's obligations in full to the extent of the property (*Jamna v. Machul*, 2 All. 315). The claims of Rudra could be discharged only by the performance of *Saṁsraṇa* oblation and this Nābhānediṣṭha had to perform, before he could take up possession of the property gifted away to him.

Thus the story of Nābhānediṣṭha, is important to a student of Hindu jurisprudence, inasmuch as it lays down (i) that the



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estate of a Hindu joint family was liable to be partitioned amongst the coparceners at the instance of any member thereof, even during the lifetime of the parents, (ii) that the sons became entitled to a share of such property by the mere fact of their being born in that family (iii) that every member was entitled to an equal share (iv) that the said partition was liable to be reopened on the ground of fraud or unfairness at the instance of any member in whose absence, the partition arrangements had been concluded (v) that a member who was otherwise provided for and well off, was entitled to renounce or release his share of the estate (vi) that such release enured to the benefit of the coparceners in the absence of the renouncer's nominees (vii) that the "gains of learning" amounted to a self-acquisition, which was impartible (viii) that a donee cannot have a title superior to his donor's and that (xi) a universal donee is liable to meet all the obligations of the donor to the full extent of the estate conveyed by the gift.

Truly has it been said

“उपदिष्टो धर्मः प्रतिवेदम् ॥”

(Bodhāyana Dharma. 1.1.1.)



# HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL AND THEIR RELATION TO THE GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT.

BY

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## 1.4. CONSONANTS.

1.41. *Classification* : 1.411. *Ancient Period* :—Tolkāppiyāṇār says that there are eighteen consonants from *k* to *ṇ* which may be classified as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

		Voiceless	Voiced	
Plosives :	Guttural	<i>k</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	Nasal also.
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	
	Cerebral	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Alveolar		<i>n</i>	
	Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	
Semi-vowels	Palatal	<i>y</i>		
	Cerebral	<i>r &amp; ḷ</i>		
	Dental	<i>l</i>		
Fricatives <sup>2</sup>	Labio-dental	<i>v</i>		
	Cerebral	<i>ṛ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	

Tolkāppiyāṇār classifies consonants as *vallinam*, *mellinam* and *itaiyinam*. This must have been done with reference to the *muyarci* (*prayatna*) or effect. *K*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* and *r* are mentioned as *vallinam*<sup>3</sup>, *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ* as *mellinam*<sup>4</sup> and *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ*,

1. The parallelism between

*nakara-v-iṛuvāy-p patinēṇṇeluttumeyyeṇa molipa.* (Tol. E. 9.)  
and

*hakārāntāni kādīni vyañjanāni vidur budhāh.* (B. N. p. 170, 8.)

is worth noting ; but we cannot say definitely whether the extant text of Nāṭyaśāstra is anterior or posterior to Tolkāppiyam.

2. In Tamil grammar *r* and *ḷ* are not separately classified as fricatives, but from their pronunciation, I have mentioned them as such for the sake of clearness.

3. *Valleḷut t-eṇṇā ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-rā.* (Tol. E. 19.)

4. *Melleḷut t-eṇṇā ṇa-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa.* (ibid. 20.)



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and : as *iṭaiyinaṁ*<sup>1</sup>. He does not mention the distinction between the semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* and the fricative *ḷ*, nor takes *r* as a fricative. The word *iṭaiyinaṁ* appears to me to be the translation of the Sanskrit *antaḥstha*.

He also states the place of articulation for the different consonants :—*k* and *ṇ* are produced by the contact of the root of the tongue with the root of the hard palate<sup>2</sup>, *c* and *ñ* by that of the middle part of the tongue with the middle part of the hard palate,<sup>3</sup> *ṭ* and *ṇ* by that of the tip of the tongue with the front of the hard palate<sup>4</sup> &<sup>5</sup>, *t* and *n* by the extended tip of the tongue completely touching the upper gums<sup>6</sup>, *ṛ* and *ṛ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate<sup>7</sup>, *r* and *ḷ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently press against the hard palate<sup>8</sup>, *ḷ* and *ḷ* by the extended tip of the tongue respectively touching the upper gums and pressing against them<sup>9</sup>, *p* and *m* by joining the lips<sup>10</sup>, *v* by bringing the upper teeth against the lower lip<sup>11</sup>, *y* by allowing the air which passes through the neck to pass very close to the hard palate<sup>12</sup>. And the *mellinaṁ* letters have, in

1. *Ṭai-y-elut t-eṇṇa ya-ra-la va-la-la*. (ibid. 21.)

2. *Kakāra ṇakāra mutanṇū v-aṇṇam*. (ibid. 89.)

3. *Cakāra ṇakāra v-iṭaiṇū v-aṇṇam*. (ibid. 90.)

4. *Takāra ṇakāra nuṇi-nū v-aṇṇam*. (ibid. 91.)

5. Here it is to be noted that *ṭ* and *ṇ* as defined here are not now pronounced in the same way, but are pronounced as cerebrals; but the old pronunciation is generally preserved in Malayālam.

6. *Aṇṇa ṇaṇṇiya paṇ-mutaṇ maruṇkiṇ*  
*Nū-nuṇi parantu me-y-urā v-orṇa-t*  
*Tām iṇitū piṇakkun takāra ṇakāram*. (Tol. E. 93.)

7. *Aṇari nuṇi-nū v-aṇṇa m-orṇa*  
*Raṇṇkū ṇaṇṇkū ṇ-ūyiraṇṇum piṇakkum*. (ibid. 94.)

8. *Nuṇi-nū v-aṇari y-aṇṇam varuṭa*  
*Rakāra ḷakāra m-ūyiraṇṇum piṇakkum*. (ibid. 95.)

9. *Nū-viḷimpū vīṇki y-aṇṇaṇ mutal-urā*  
*Āvayi ṇ-aṇṇa m-orṇavum varuṭavum*  
*Lakāra ḷakāram-ū y-iraṇṇum piṇakkum*. (ibid. 96.)

10. *Ṭal-iyaiṇtu piṇakkum pakāra makāram*. (ibid. 97.)

11. *Pal-l-ita ḷ-iyaiya vakāram piṇakkum*. (ibid. 98.)

12. *Aṇṇaṇ cērnta miṭarṇṇelu zaḷi-y-icai*  
*Kaṇṇur-ṇaṭaiya yakāram piṇakkum*. (ibid. 99.)



addition to their places of articulation noted above, the nose also<sup>1</sup>.

The difference between *ṇ* and *ṇ̣* is that the former is produced at the front of the palate with the tip of the tongue facing backwards and that the latter is produced behind it with the tip of the tongue facing forwards.

Here it is worth noting that the place of articulation for the gutturals, palatals, dentals, labials and *v* as mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār closely agree with those mentioned in Taittirīya Prātiśākhya and to a large extent with those in other Prātiśākhyas. Cf.

*Kakāra ṇakāra mutanū v-aṇṇam* (Tol. E. 86) with  
*Hanumūlē jihvāmūlēna kavargē sparśayati* (Tai. P. ii, 35);

*Cakāra ṇakāra miṭai-nā v-aṇṇam* (Tol. E. 20) with  
*Tālū jihvāmadhyēna cavargē* (Tai. P. ii, 36);  
*Tālusthānā madhyēna* (S. Y. V. P. i, 79) and  
*Tālavayānām madhya-jihvam* (A. V. P. i, 21);  
*Aṇṇam naṇṇiya ... nā-nuṇi parantu ... takāra nakāram*  
(Tol. E. 93) with

*Jihvāgrēna tavargē dantamūlēṣu* (Tai. P. ii, 38) and  
*Dantayānām jihvāgram prastīrṇam*<sup>2</sup> (A. V. P. i, 24);  
*Ital-iyaintu pīrakkum pakāra makāram* (Tol. E. 97) with  
*Oṣṭhābhyām pavargē* (Tai. P. ii, 39.);  
*Pal-l-italiyaiya vakaram pīrakkum* (Tol. E. 97) with  
*Oṣṭhāntābhyām dantair vakārē* (Tai. P. ii. 43.).

1. 412. *Medieval period* :—In the medieval period the same is said about the classification and production of consonants with this difference :—Nāṇṇūlār states that *p* and *m* are produced by the upper lip pressing upon the lower lip<sup>3</sup> and *y* is produced by allowing the root of the tongue to press upon the root of the hard palate<sup>4</sup>. Practically, there is no difference between Nāṇṇūl and Tolkāppiyam as regards the first point and there is slight difference as regards the second point.

1. *Mellelut t-ārum pīrappi ṇ-ākkāṇ*  
*Colliya paḷḷi nilaiyina v-āyinu*  
*Mūkkiṇ vali-yicai yāppura-t tōṇṇum.* (ibid. 100.)

2. The word *prastīrṇam* in A. V. P. and the word *parantu* in Tolkāppiyam convey exactly the same meaning.

3. *Miki l-italuṇap pa-m-ma-p pīrakkum.* (Na. 81.)

4. *Aṭinā vaṭiyana mūṭayāt tōṇṇum.* (ibid. 82.) "



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1.413. *Modern period* : 14131. The author of the *Ilakkaṇṭṭavilakkam* agrees with *Nannūlar* as regards the place of production of *p* and *m* and agrees with *Tolkāppiyāṇār* as regards that of *y*.<sup>1</sup>

1.4132. <sup>2</sup>		Voiceless.	Voiced.	
		Non-nasal.		Nasal.
Plosives.	Guttural	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ñ</i>
	Cerebral	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n<sup>3</sup>, n<sup>4</sup></i>
	Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>
Semi-vowels.	Palatal		<i>y</i>	
	Cerebral		<i>r, l</i>	
	Dental		<i>l</i>	
Fricatives.	Labio-dental		<i>v</i>	
	Palatal	<i>ś</i>		
	Dental	<i>s</i>		
Aspirate.	Cerebral	<i>r &amp; ś</i>	<i>l</i>	
		<i>h</i>		

All the sounds noted here are not found in certain dialects. For instance, in the dialect spoken in Tinnevely it is said by the residents there that the sounds *ś* and *j* are not generally found; in the dialect spoken in Madras the aspirate *h* is not generally found; in the dialect spoken at Jaffna it is said that most of the sounds *g, j, d, d, b, ś* and *h* are not found. Though new sounds have crept into the language, new symbols for them have not been introduced except for *j, ś* (in very few cases in *Vaiṣṇavaite* works) *ś, s* and *h*. But Dr. Caldwell thinks that all these sounds have been in existence in the Tamil Language from the earliest time since he says that 'the Tamilian rule which requires the same

1. *Mikī l-italur-a-p pakūra makūra m-irantu m-annañ cērnta miṭarrelu valiyicai kaṇṇurraṭiya yakāramum.* (I. V. 12.)

2. This refers to the consonant sounds found in certain dialects, if I may so call them spoken in the districts of Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, etc.

3. '*n*' is now pronounced by rounding the tip of the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate. Hence at present *t* and *n* are cerebrals and not alveolars.

4. '*n*' is classed as cerebral though, when pronouncing it, the tip of the tongue is raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate which is in front of the roof.



consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another ... is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning'. Whether his view is correct or wrong will be discussed in 1.44. *infra*.

1.42.<sup>6</sup> *A point to be noted about Vallinam, Mellinam and Itaiyinam* :—Iḷampūraṇar states in his commentary under the sūtra—

*Mellelut t-ārum piraṇṇi n-ākkam*

*Colliya paḷli nilaiyina v-āyinuṁ*

*Mūkkiṇ vaḷi-y-icai yāṇṇura-t tōṇṇum* (Tol. E. 100)

noted above that the six *mel-l-eluttu* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the nose, though they are produced in the places noted above ; since the word 'yāṇṇura' is used, it is to be noted that *itai-y-eluttu* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the neck or gullet and *val-l-eluttu* by the air passing through the head<sup>1</sup>. Here it deserves to be noted that Tolkāppiyaṇar has mentioned in the sūtra that nose also is the place of production in addition to that mentioned for the respective nasal possibly having before his mind the sūtras 'nāsikyāḥ nāsikāsthānāḥ' (Tai. P. ii, 49.) and *vargavaccāṣu* (Tai. P. ii, 51). How Iḷampūraṇar and the later grammarians have made a mistake has been fully dealt with in 1.1. *supra*.

1.43. *Another point to be noted about Itai-y-inam* :—In Iḷakkaṇaviḷakkam<sup>2</sup> and Tolkāppiya-mutaṛcūttira-virutti<sup>3</sup> it is said that *itaiyinam* is midway between *vallinam* or the voiceless consonants and the *mellinam* or the nasals in their nature. It is not clear how it is so. *Itai-y-eluttu* is simply the translation of the Sanskrit *antaḥstha* which means midway between vowel and *sparsa* or explosives, since, in pronouncing vowels most of which have *vivṛta-prayatna*, air completely escapes and in pronouncing explosives which have *spṛṣṭa-prayatna*, there is complete contact

1. *Itai-y-eluttirku mitaṇṇu-vaḷiyum, val-l-eluttirku talai-vaḷiyuṁ koḷka.* (Tol. E. 100, Iḷam.)
2. *Melleluttaiyum valleluttaiyum nōkka-t tām itai-nikaravāy olittalāṇum.* (I. V. 7, Comm.)
3. *Valleluttukkaṇ munṇum av-v-avaṇṇir-k-inametta melleluttukkaḷ av-v-avaṇṇin-piṇṇumāki valikkappattāṇa. Av-v-iraṇṇu nōkka-y-allatū itai-nikaravāy-olittal ariya-p-patāmaiṇṇu atu-parri itaiyeluttukkaḷ av-v-iru-kūṇṇir-kum-piṇ vaikkappattāṇa.* (T. M. V. p. 23.)



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between the tongue and the other organs of speech so that air is completely arrested in its passage, and in pronouncing *y, r, l, v*, which have *īśai-sprṣṭa-prayatna*, there is only slight contact between the tongue and the vocal organs so that most of the air freely passes and in pronouncing *ś, ṣ, s*, which have *īśad-vivṛta-prayatna*, air is allowed to escape with friction. The difference between semi-vowels and fricatives lies only in the fact that there is less prevention in the former and greater prevention in the latter; but both agree in the point, that in pronouncing them air does not completely escape as in the case of vowels, nor is it completely arrested in its passage as in the case of explosives. Hence the author of *Tolkāppiyam* has, in my opinion, included *y, r, l, v, ̣* and *̤* under one category and called them *itaiyeluttu*. But it is surprising that the authors of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* and *Tolkāppiya-mutar-cūttira-virutti* who seem to have had considerable knowledge of Sanskrit have gone wrong in this point.

But Dr. Caldwell has rightly translated *itaiyeluttu* as semi-vowels.

1.44. *The Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants* :—This theory is explained by Dr. Caldwell in p. 138 as follows:—‘There are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all the Dravidian dialects but it is most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayāḷam. The law as apparent in the Tamil-Malayāḷam system of sounds is as follows :—*k, t, ̣, p*, the first unaspirated consonants of the first, third, fourth and fifth vargas are always pronounced as tenues or surds (*i. e.*, as *k, t, ̣, p*) at the beginning of words, and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (*i. e.*, as *g, d, ̤, b*) when single in the middle of words. A sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle, except when doubled; and so imperative is this law and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from sonants to surds, or *vice-versa* according to their position—*e. g.* *danta* (Skt. a tooth) becomes in Tamil, *tandam*; *bhāgya* (Skt. happiness) becomes in Tamil, *pākkiam*. This rule applies also to the case of compounds. The first consonant of the second word, though it was a surd when it stood independent, is regarded as a sonant when it becomes a medial letter in a compound word. This difference is marked in Telugu by a



difference in character which is employed:—e.g. *annadamulu* (for *annalamulu*) elder and younger brother; *kottabadu* (for *kottapaḍu*), to be beaten; but in Tamil and generally in Malayāḷam, the difference appears in the pronunciation alone. This rule applies to all compounds in Telugu; but in Tamil, when the words stand in a case-relation to one another, or when the first is governed by the second, the initial surd of the second word is not softened, but doubled and hardened, in token of its activity:—e.g. instead of *kottabadu*, to be beaten, it prefers to say *kottā(p)-paḍu*. In *dvandva* compounds Tamil agrees with Telugu.

‘A similar rule applies to the pronunciation of *ch* or *ċ* (the Tamil *ś*) the first consonant of the second *varga*. When single, it is pronounced as a soft, weak, sibilant, with a sound midway between *ś*, *sh* and *ch*. This pronunciation is unchanged in the middle of words and in all cases in which the letter is single; but when it is doubled, it is pronounced exactly like *chch* or *ċċ*. The principle involved in this instance is the same as in the cases previously mentioned, but the operation of the rule is in some degree different. The difference consists in the pronunciation of this consonant in the beginning of a word, as well as in the middle as a sonant, i.e. as *ś*. By theory it should be pronounced as *ch* at the beginning of a word—and it is worthy of notice that it always receives this pronunciation at the beginning of a word in vulgar, colloquial Tamil; and in Malayāḷam and Telugu it is written as well as pronounced *ch*. A somewhat similar rule prevails with respect to rough *r* of the Tamil which is pronounced as *r* when single and like *tr* when doubled.

‘The Tamilian rule which requires the same consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another, as *t*, *l*, *p* in one position and as *d*, *d*, *b* in another is not a mere dialectic peculiarity, the gradual result of circumstances, or a modern refinement invented by grammarians, but is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning<sup>1</sup>.

‘The Tamil characters were borrowed, I conceive, from the earlier Sanskrit, and the language of the Tamilians was committed

1. The Rev. Dr. Pope and M. J. Vinson state the same theory with a slight modification, the former in page 7 of his *Tamil Hand Book* and the latter in page 654 of *Journal Asiatique Dixieme serie Tome 18* 1911.



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to writing on or soon after the arrival of the first colony of Brahmans, probably several centuries before the Christian Era. Yet even at that early period the Tamil alphabet was arranged in such a manner as to embody the peculiar Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants. The Tamil alphabet systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds. This circumstance clearly proves that *ab initio* the Dravidian phonetic system, as represented in Tamil, its most ancient exponent, differed essentially from that of Sanskrit'.

Here we have to examine (1) whether this law holds good for Tamil language from the earliest times or in Dr. Caldwell's words whether it is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning; (2) whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil; (3) whether there was an imperative law that a sonant cannot commence a word, and that a surd is inadmissible in the middle of a word except when doubled; and (4) whether the Tamil alphabet systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds.

1. *Whether it is essentially inherent in the language:—* Tolkāppiyāṇār, the author of the earliest extant grammar of the Tamil language, says in the first sūtra

*Ēluttēṇa-p paṭuṭa*

*Akara-mutal*

*Nakāra v-iṟuvāy muṭṭaṇ t-eṇṭa*

*Cārntu-varaṇ maraṭiṇ mūṇṇ-alaṇ kaṭaiyē* (Tol. E. 1.) that there are thirty primary *ēluttu* from *a* to *ṇ* and three secondary *ēluttu*, and in the second sūtra,

*Avaitāṇ*

*Kurriya l-ikaram kurriya l-ukaram*

*Āṭam-eṇṇa*

*Muṭṭār pulḷiyu m-ēluttō r-anna.* (Tol. E. 2.)

that the three secondary *ēluttu* are *kurriyal-ikaram*, *kurriyal-ukaram* and *āṭam* which are denoted in script with dots. Does the word *ēluttu* here denote sound or symbol? It evidently means sound for the following reasons:—(a) In the third sūtra



*Avarruḷ*

*A i u*

*Eō ennu m-appā l-aintum*

*Ōr-āḷa p-icaikkuṇ kurreḷut t-enṇa.* (Tol. E. 3.)

he says 'Of them *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* sound one mātrā and are called *kurreḷuttū*: in the fourth sūtra,

*Ā ī ū*

*Ē ai*

*Ōau ennu m-appā l-ēḷum*

*Īr-āḷa p-icaikku netṭelut t-enṇa.* (Tol. E. 4.)

the next seven *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* sound two mātrās and are called *netṭeluttū*; in the eighth,

*Aukāra v-iruvāy-p*

*Pannī r-ēḷuttu m-uyir-eṇa molīpa.* (Tol. E. 8.)

the twelve from *a* to *au* are called *uyir*; in the ninth,

*Nakāra v-iruvāy-p*

*Patinen n-ēḷuttu mey-y-eṇa molīpa.* (Tol. E. 9.)

the last eighteen *ēḷuttū* with *n* at the end are called *mey*; in the tenth,

*Mey-y-ō t-iyaiyinu m-uyir-iya ririyā.* (Tol. E. 10.)

the nature of the vowel is not changed even when pronounced after a consonant; in the eleventh,

*Mey-y-i n-aḷavē y-arai-y-eṇa molīpa.* (Tol. E. 11.)

the quantity of a consonant is half a mātrā; in the nineteenth,

*Valleḷut t-enṇa ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-ṭa.* (Tol. E. 19.)

*k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*, *r* are *valleḷuttū* or voiceless consonant: in the twentieth,

*Melleḷut t-enṇa ṇa-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa.* (Tol. E. 20.)

*ṇ*, *ṇ̄*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ* are *melleḷuttū* or nasals; and in the twentyfirst,

*Itai-y-ēḷut t-enṇa ya-ra-la- va-la-la.* (Tol. E. 21.)

*y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ*, *ḹ* are *itaiyēḷuttū* or semi-vowels. In all these sūtras, *ēḷuttū* cannot but mean sound; for symbols cannot have quantity nor can they be classified as *val-l-inam*, *mel-l-inam* and *itai-y-inam*. Besides, in the whole *Nūṇmarapū*, the first section in *Elutlatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam*, he makes mention of words like *uruvu* (form) and *iyarkai* (nature) wherever he wants to denote symbols e.g. in the fifteenth sūtra,

*Mey-y-i n-iyarkai pulḷi-y-oḷū nilaiyaḷ.* (Tol. E. 15.)

he says that the *iyarkai* or nature of the consonant is to be indicated by dots; in the sixteenth sūtra,

*Ekara okara-t t-iyarkai-y-u m-arre.* (Tol. E. 16.)



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he says that the *iyarkai* or nature of *e* and *o* is the same ; he says in the 14th sūtra

• *Uṭpeṇu pālli y-uruvā kum-m-ē.* (Tol. E. 14).<sup>•</sup>

that a dot within is its *uruvu* or form (of shortened *m*); the same is the case for vowel-consonants in the sūtra

• *Pulli y-illā v-ellā meyyum*  
*Ūru-v-uru v-āki y-akaramo t-uyirttalum*  
 • *Ēnai y-uyirō t-uruvu-tirin t-uyirttalum*  
 • *Ā-y-ī r-iyala v-uyirtta l-ārē* (Tol. E. 17.)

If then *cluttu* denotes sound, could Tolkāppiyāṇār who is so careful as to note the difference in the quantity and the nature between *i* and *ī* (shortened *i*), *u* and *ū* and who shows from his work especially the sections dealing with the classification and production of speech sounds intimate knowledge of Sanskrit Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini's grammar where it is clearly stated that the voiced consonants are produced when the *kaṇṭha* is closed (*i.e.*) when the vocal chords are very close to each other and voiceless when *kaṇṭha* is open (*i.e.*) when the vocal chords are far away from each other (*cf.* Tai. P. ii, 4 & 5), have failed to denote the difference between the voiceless consonants *k*, *c*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p* and voiced consonants *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *ḍ* and *b* and mentioned them as *vallinam*? If the voiced sounds *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *ḍ* and *b* were in existence then, could he have stated that the number of primary sounds was only thirty? Hence it is clear that at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār the voiced consonant sounds did not exist in the Tamil Language. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement "this peculiarity is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning" cannot stand.

The author of Viracōliyam and its commentator say that in *tadbhava* words the consonant *k* is substituted for the four Sanskrit consonants *k*, *kh*, *g* and *gh*.<sup>1</sup> This would not have been the case if *g* had already existed. All other grammarians including the Rev. Beschi say that there are only thirty or thirty-one primary sounds.

1. *Munkiya-varkkaiṅkal-aintinu-mun-n-onrin mūn-ataikum.* (V. Tat. 6.)

*Ka-ca-ta-ta-pa-v-eṇṇavarro vvonraiye kitappinūm, urappiyum?*  
*eṭuttum, kaṇaittum, mukkinūm aintu vitamāka-c-collappatu*  
*kinra aintu varkkaiṅkalinūm munpatiya-k-kitappinār collap-*  
*patukinra vōnriṅkannē yatan pinṇē ninra mūnreluttum atai-*  
*kum.* (V. Tat. 6, Comm.)



But what Dr. Caldwell says is found in the *spoken* Tamil of the modern days. What might be the reason for this? Is it due to the general phonological principle that voiceless consonants are made voiced when they are found between vowels or preceded by nasals; or is it due to the fact that the Sanskrit words like *naga* and *vandana* were written in Tamil script as *nakam* (நகம்) and *vantanam* (வந்தனம்) but pronounced as *nagam* and *vandanam* as in Sanskrit and then the same letters ஂ and ஃ began to be pronounced under such conditions even in pure Tamil words as *g* and *d. c. g.* (அகம்) *agam* and (தந்தை) *tandai*? It does not seem to be reasonable to accept the former alternative, because even now in Jaffna, such voiceless consonants are pronounced as voiceless and not voiced. Hence it becomes necessary to accept the second alternative.

2. *Whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil:*—Since I have shown that voiced consonants were absent from Tamil language in the earliest times, it is evident that they were not developed in Tamil. (Even in Malayalam there is difference in pronunciation between *aṅka* and *aṅga* though 'k' in *aṅka* is slightly voiced.

3. *Whether there was an imperative law that a sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle except when doubled:*—Since I have proved that the voiced consonants were absent from the early Tamil language, and since no grammarian from Tolkāppiyāṇār to Civañāṇa-muṇivar has stated this, it need not be discussed. But so far as the spoken Tamil of the modern days is concerned it holds good.

In this context it deserves to be mentioned that Dr. Caldwell and some modern scholars of Tamil seem to think that it is absolutely necessary to have the voiced consonants after the nasal of the same class<sup>1</sup> and the voiced consonant or spirant between vowels and it is difficult to pronounce them otherwise, i.e., *taṅkai*, *paṅcam*, *paṅtam* and *vantāṇ* should be pronounced as *taṅgai*, *paṅjam*, *paṅdam* and *vandāṇ* and *akam*, *icai*, *aṭai*, *atu*, *taṭu* as *aham* or *agam*, *iṣai*, *aḍai*, *adu* and *tabu*. This view appears to be unsustainable. For, as Vendryes points out in his *Language*<sup>2</sup>, "Difficulty and ease of pronunciation are purely relative conception, doubtless

1. D. C. G. p. 142.

2. Cf. p. 60—*Language* by Vendryes translated by Paul Radin, Ph. D.



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quite definite to the speaker, but variable for each language. We cannot appreciate them without a thorough knowledge of the structure of the language. In fact the articulatory habits are at the root of the difficulty, so that a sound group which one people find difficult to pronounce may be quite easy for a neighbouring people."

The following table will show that there are examples in Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tulu where voiceless consonants are found after nasals and between vowels:—

Telugu.	Kanarese.	Malayalam.	Tulu.	Tamil.
(a) <i>iñku</i>				<i>iñcu</i> (to dry up)
<i>koñki</i>				<i>kokki</i> (hook)
<i>vañki</i>	<i>vañki</i>			<i>vañki</i> (armlet)
<i>kāñke</i>	<i>kāke</i>			<i>kāñkai</i> (heat)
<i>añse</i>	<i>añce</i>	<i>añcal</i>	<i>añcal</i> <i>añci</i> (thither)	<i>añcal</i> <i>añkē</i> (there)
<i>kañṭa</i> (seeing)				<i>kañṭa</i> (having seen)
	<i>uñṭu</i> (there is)			<i>uñṭu</i>
	<i>eñṭu</i> (eight)			<i>eñṭu</i>
<i>enta</i> (how much)	<i>enta</i> (of what sort)			<i>enta</i> (what)
	<i>kantu</i> (to go down)			<i>kantu</i> (to be spoiled)
<i>inṭu</i>	<i>inṭu</i>			<i>inṭu</i> (sweat-ness)
		<i>kāmpu</i>		<i>kāmpu</i> (stalk)
(b) <i>āṭa</i>	<i>āṭike</i>	<i>āṭuka</i>		<i>āṭṭam</i> (play)
<i>kāṇṇ</i>	<i>kāṇṇ</i>		<i>kāṇṇ</i>	<i>kāṇṇu</i> (protection)
<i>aṭuka</i> (loft in a house)				<i>aṭukkū</i>
	<i>iṭukku</i> (narrowness)			<i>iṭukkū</i>
			<i>ikara</i> (here)	<i>iñkē</i>



The initial *c* in *catti* is pronounced not as *ś* in Tulu, but as *c* itself.

This clearly shows that there need be no hard and fast rule that the consonants that follow nasals or that are between vowels should become voiced in the Dravidian languages. But, at the same time, examples like *kuṅgu* (to sink) by the side of *kuṅku* (to sink) and *idi* (this) in Telugu, *āḍu* (to play) and *paḡa* (enmity) in Kanarese, *iḍu* (pledge) and *uṇḍe* (globe) in Tulu are found. This shows that there was a tendency in those languages to pronounce the voiceless consonants that followed nasals or that were between two vowels, as voiced. Since old Malayalam is almost Tamil, I have not given many examples from Malayalam here. This change may have been due to the natural tendency of the people if we are able to find out such examples at a time when those languages were not influenced by Sanskrit. But, as far as we know at present, the earliest work in Telugu found out till now is said to be the *Bhāratam* by Nannaya which roughly belongs to the early part of the 11th century and the earliest inscription happens to be that of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana of the 6th century. The earliest work in Kanarese that has been found out till now is the *Kavirājamārga* written about the 9th century, and the earliest reliable inscription, it is believed, does not go earlier than 6th century A. D.

During the 7th century we have *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyirappirapantam* which clearly show the great influence of Sanskrit on Tamil. Hence it is more probable for the change to have crept into Tamil through analogy with the sounds of the borrowed words in Tamil written in Tamil characters.

4. *Whether one character was sufficient to express both classes of sounds:*—Dr. Caldwell assumes that the Tamil alphabet was introduced after the advent of the Sanskritists, who found one character sufficient to express both classes of sounds. If that be so, why should they have invented new symbols to express voiced consonants *g, j, ḍ, d* and *b* in Grantha script which they should have invented after the Tamils began to learn Sanskrit and in which almost all the symbols of the Tamil language, which, according to Gopinatha Rao, were adapted from Brāhmi script, were incorporated? Hence at the time when the Tamil script was newly invented, it did not have the voiced consonant sounds.



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Therefore Dr. Caldwell's theory of Convertibility of Surds and Sonants can hold good only with reference to the spoken Tamil of the present day.

1.45. *C and J according to Dr. Caldwell*:—Dr. Caldwell says that the pronunciation of *c* is not *ś* but *c* in the lowest colloquial dialect and it is probably the ancient pronunciation of this letter which is retained by the lower classes. Even the higher classes in Tinnevely pronounce it even now as *c* and reference to the sūtras on *Nūṇmarapū* of Tolkāppiyam mentioned above can clearly explain that his conjecture that it was the ancient pronunciation is really true.

As regards 'j' Dr. Caldwell says that "it is not used in correct Tamil; the same sound is sometimes admitted in the use of those Sanskrit derivatives in which the letter 'j' is found in Sanskrit". But in the spoken dialects of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, etc., it is freely used in pure Tamil words. Thus *mañcaḷ* is pronounced as *mañjaḷ*, *kañci* as *kañji*, etc.

1.46. *A point about the cerebral consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit*:—Dr. Caldwell says that 'Sanskrit has borrowed them from Dravidian languages for the following reasons:—(1) The lingual consonants are essential component elements of a large number of primitive Dravidian roots. (2) None of the lingual consonants has ever been discovered in any of the primitive languages which are related to Sanskrit. (3) Those consonants which Tamil has borrowed from Sanskrit within the period of existence of Dravidian literature have been greatly modified to accord with the Tamilian laws of sound and delicacy of ear. (4) Though Telugu has been more exposed to Sanskrit influence than Tamil, yet larger use is made of those sounds in Tamil than in Telugu'. (C. D. G. 148.)

Dr. Caldwell may be said to be right as regards his first two reasons. The third reason adduced by him seems to me not quite satisfactory; for Tamil evidently has to substitute some sounds for those of Sanskrit which are not found in it as *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*. The fourth is not after all a very strong reason. Besides, there are four other points that stand in the way of accepting his theory:—(i) The cerebral sounds in Sanskrit are produced by rounding the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate, while in Tamil they were produced by the tip of the tongue touching the front of the palate without its being rounded at the time of Tolkāppiyānār, though they are now pronounced exactly in the same



way as in Sanskrit. If they had been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil, I do not know why the position of their articulation was changed. (2) Besides, they are found in *R̥gvēda*, the earliest religious work in Sanskrit which is supposed to have been composed in the Indus Valley soon after the Aryans migrated there. (3) It has been enunciated by Fortunatov that *r*+dental remains unchanged, but in combination of *l* and a following dental, the *l* disappeared, and the dental was lingualised. Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck and other philologists except Brugman agree with his theory<sup>1</sup> and hence think that the cerebrals are a natural development. (4) Otto Jespersen too agrees with the same theory from another standpoint as is seen from his following statement: "According to a theory which is very widely accepted, the Dravidian languages exerted a different influence on the Aryan languages when the Aryans first set foot on Indian soil, in making them adopt the cacuminal (or inverted) sounds *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* with *ḍh, ṭh* which were not found in primitive Aryan. But even this theory does not seem to be quite proof against objections. It is easy to admit that natives accustomed to one place of articulation of their *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* will unconsciously produce the *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* of a new language they are learning in the same place; but then they will do it everywhere. Here, however, both Dravidian and Sanskrit possess pure dental *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, besides cacuminal *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ*, in which it touches the gum or the front part of the hard palate. In Sanskrit we find that the cacuminal articulation occurs only under very definite conditions, chiefly under the influence of '*r*'. Now, a trilled tongue-point '*r*' in most languages, for purely physiological reasons which are easily accounted for, tends to be pronounced further back than ordinary dentals; and it is therefore quite natural that it should spontaneously exercise an influence on neighbouring dentals by drawing them back to its own point of articulation. This may have happened in India quite independently of the occurrence of the same sounds in other vernaculars<sup>2</sup> just as we find the same influence very pronouncedly in

1. Sanskrit Phonetics (English Edition by Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck, section 44, p. 53).

2. It is worthy to be noted that it has already been mentioned that the Tamil *ḍ* and *ṇ* were not originally cacuminal but alveolar.



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Swedish and in East Norwegian where *d, t, n, s* are cacuminal (supra-dental) in such words as *bord, kort, barn*, etc. According to Grandgent (*Naire Sprachen*, 2, 447) *d* in his own American English is pronounced further back than elsewhere before and after '*r*', as in *dry, hard*; but in none of these cases, need we conjure up an extinct native population to account for a perfectly natural development.<sup>1</sup>

From what has been mentioned above it may not be possible for us to accept the statement of M. J. Vinson that the cerebrals in the Aryan Languages of the north have been developed relatively at a recent date<sup>2</sup>.

1.47. *Secondary consonant*: 1.471. *Ancient period*: According to Tolkāppiyānār there is no secondary consonant.

1.472. *Medieval period*: The author of *Vīracōliyam* does not mention any secondary consonant. The author of *Nēminātam* says that there are 16 secondary consonants consisting of 6 shortened voiceless consonants, 6 shortened nasals and shortened *y*, shortened *l*, shortened *v* and shortened *ḷ*. The author of *Nannūl* says that there are 42 *orralaṭṭai*<sup>3</sup> and three shortened *m*<sup>4</sup>, each of the former having one mātrā and each of the latter having  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mātrā<sup>5</sup>. Wherever two similar consonants come together for the sake of metre as the two '*l*'s in '*koll lērrin maruppuḥ pōṇṇana*' (they are like the horns of war-bulls) (P.N. 4, 4), he takes them as one secondary sound having one full mātrā. As regards the shortened *m*, as in *pōṇṇi* he divides it into three according to the consonant which precedes or follows it, which is not quite necessary. cf. 1.222 *supra*.

1.473. *Modern period*: The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* says that there are 11 *orralaṭṭai* and one *makara-k-kurukkam* and

1. *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin* by Otto Jespersen, p. 196-7.

2. *R cerebral En Dravidien*, pp. 111 to 123. *Journal Asiatique*, Onzieme Serie Tome XIII, 1919.

3. *Nā-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa va-ya-la-la v-āytam*

*Aḷapān kuṟil-ṇai kuṟiṟ-kī ḷ-ṭai-kāṭai*

*Mikalē y-avarriṇ kuṟi-y-ām vēṟē*. (Na. 92.)

4. *Ni-ṇa muṇ-ṇ-um vāṣkāṇ micai-yu-ma-k-kurukum*. (ibid. 96.)

5. *Mūṇṟū-uyīraḷapū irāṇṭām neṭil onṟē*

*Kuṟilṭiṭū ai-au-k kurukkam orralaṭṭū*

*Arai orṟū-i u-k kurukkam āytam*

*Kāl kuṟaḷ maṣkāṇ āytam māttirai*. (ibid. 99.)



agrees with Nannūlār as regards their quantity. Civaññānamuṇi-vaṛ agrees with Tolkāppiyaṇār.

Though Tolkāppiyaṇār mentions shortened *m* and says it has  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mātrā<sup>1</sup>, he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant since it does not satisfy his definition of *cārpelutū*. Cf. 1.22. *supra*. *Orraḷapeṭai* is only two similar consonants placed side by side for the sake of metre. Hence he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant. The opinion of Tolkāppiyaṇār seems to be sound.

1.48. *Initial, final and medial consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit words—Their similarities and dissimilarities:*—Tolkāppiyaṇār says that, in Tamil, a conjunct consonant cannot stand at the beginning of a word<sup>2</sup>, *k*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m* can stand initially being followed by any vowel<sup>3</sup>, *c* except when followed by *a*, *ai* and *au*<sup>4</sup>, *v* except when followed by *u*, *ū*, *o*<sup>5</sup> and *ō*<sup>5</sup>, *ñ* when followed by *ā*, *e* and *o*<sup>6</sup> and *y* when followed only by *ā*<sup>7</sup>. Similarly, the only consonants that can stand as the final member are *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ* and *ḷ*<sup>8</sup>.

As regards the initial consonants, the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* slightly differs from Tolkāppiyaṇār. He allows *ñ* when followed by 'a' also, allows *c* when followed by all vowels and allows *y* when followed by *a*, *ā*, *u*, *ū*, *ō* and *au*<sup>9</sup>. The author of Nannūl agrees with the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* and adds *ṇ* also to

1. *Arai-yalāpū kuṟukan makara m-utaittē*  
*Icai-yiṭa ṇ-arukun teriyūn kālai.* (Tol. E. 13.)
2. *Uyir-mey y-allaṇa moli-muta l-ākā.* (ibid. 60.)
3. *Ka-ta-pa pa-ma-v-eṇu m-ā-v-ai-n-t-eluttum*  
*Ellā v-uyiroṭuñ cellumār mutalē.* (ibid. 61.)
4. *Cakara-k kiḷaviyu m-avarṛō r-arṛē*  
*Aai au-v-eṇu mūṇṇalaṇ kaitaiyē.* (ibid. 62.)
5. *Uū oḍ v-eṇṇu nāṇkuyir*  
*Va eṇ ṇ-eluttotū varuta l-illai.* (ibid. 63.)
6. *Āe*  
*O-eṇu mū-v-uyir ṇakārat t-uriya.* (ibid. 64.)
7. *Ā-v-ō t-allatū yakara mutalāṭū.* (ibid. 65.)
8. *Na-ṇa-na-ma ṇa-ya ra-la va-la-la-v-eṇṇum*  
*A-p-pati ṇ-onṛē pulḷi y-iṟuti.* (ibid. 78.)
9. *Āvi-yañaittūn ka-ca-ta-na-pa-ma-v variyum-va-v-v-il*  
*Ēviya-v-eṭṭum pa-v v-ārū-ñā-n-ṇāṇkumel lā-v-ulakum*  
..... (V. C. 7.)



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the list<sup>1</sup> and one of its commentators gives *añṇanam* as an example of the same; but *ñanam* does not seem to occur as a separate word in literature.

As regards the final consonants, the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* differs from *Tolkāppiyāṇār* in omitting *ñ*, *n* and *v* from the list<sup>2</sup>. This is perhaps due to the fact that such words as *uriñ*, *porun* and *tev* became obsolete in his days. But *Nannūlar* agrees here with *Tolkāppiyāṇār*<sup>3</sup>. In modern times, words beginning with *ṭ*, *y*, *r* and *l* also are found; but all of them are words borrowed from other languages. E.g., *ṭaṅkā*, *ṭamāram*, *yanti-ram*, *yaman*, *rāman*, *laṅkai*, etc.

Besides it is said that all consonants except *r* and *l* can be followed by the same consonants<sup>4</sup>. Some of them may also be followed by other consonants. For instance *ṭ* can be followed by *k*, *c* and *p*; *r* by *k*, *c* and *p*; *l* by *k*, *c*, *p*, *y* and *v*; *ḷ* by *k*, *c*, *p*, *y* and *v*; *ñ* by *k*; *ṇ* by *c* and *y*; *n* by *ṭ*, *k*, *c*, *ñ*, *p*, *m*, *y* and *v*; *m* by *p*, *y* and *v*; *y* by *r*, *k*, *c*, *ñ*, *p*, *m*, *y* and *v*; *v* by *y*, *y*, *r*, and *ḷ* by *k*, *c*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *v*, *ñ*, *y* and *ṇ*<sup>5</sup>.

1. *Pañṇī r-uyirum ka-ca-ta-na pa-ma-va-ya*  
*Na-na-v-i r-aintuyir me-y-yu moli-mutal.* (Na. 102.)
2. *Irū-makara ṇakaraiṇkaṭāmu m-iṭai-y-iṇattil*  
*Ērum-vakara m-olint-aintum-irain t-eḷil-uyirum*  
*Kūrun-tamiḷiṇu-k k-iṇṇeluttām-eṇṇar kōl-valai-yē.* (V. C. 8.)
3. *Āvi ṇa-ṇa-na-ma-ṇa ya-ra-la-va la-la-mey*  
*Cēyu m-ukara nāḷāru m-iṇṇē.* (Na. 107.)
4. *Mey-n-nilai cutṭi n-ellā v-eḷuttum*  
*Tam-mur rām-varūm ra-la-valan kaṭaiyē.* (Tol. E. 30.)
5. *Ta-ra-la-la v-eṇṇum pulli munṇar-k*  
*Ka-ca-pa v-eṇṇu mū-v-ēḷut t-uriya.* (ibid. 23.)  
*Avarrul*  
*La-laṣṣkāṇ munṇar ya-va-v-un tōṇrum.* (ibid. 24.)  
*Na-ṇa-ṇa-na ma-ṇa-v-eṇṇum pulli munṇar-t*  
*Tatta m-icaikaḷ-ottana nilaiyē.* (ibid. 25.)  
*Avrrul*  
*Na-ṇaṣṣkāṇ munṇar-k*  
*Ka-ca-ṇa-pa ma-ya-v-a-v v-ēḷu m-uriya.* (ibid. 26.)  
*Na-na-ma-va v-eṇṇum pulli munṇar*  
*Yaṣṣkā nīrṇan me-y-ṇer r-aṇṇē.* (ibid. 27.)  
*Maṣṣkāṇ pulli-mun va-v-v-un tōṇrum.* (ibid. 28.)  
*Ya-ra-la v-eṇṇum pulli munṇar*  
*Mutalā k-eḷuttu ṇakaramotū tōṇrum.* (ibid. 9.)



Here it may be noted that Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya similarly gives a list showing the sounds in Sanskrit that can respectively stand as the initial and final members of single words and also those consonants which can follow other consonants:—The second and fourth of each varga, semi-vowels, fricatives except *visarga* and aspirate and the second varga do not stand as the final members of words<sup>1</sup>. The Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya allows *l* also as the final<sup>2</sup>. When we compare this with the final sounds at the end of words in Tamil, we see that, of the sounds common to both the tongues Tamil allows *ñ, y, r, l, v* and *ḷ* as finals, while Sanskrit does not and that Sanskrit allows *k, ṇ, ṭ, ṭ* and *p* which Tamil does not.

Similarly the Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya says that *jihvāmūliya, upadhmānīya, visarga, anusvāra jh, ṇ, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ* cannot stand as initial members of words<sup>3</sup>. But Tamil allows *ñ* as in the words *ñālam, ñaṇṭu* as the initial member.

Again the same Prātiśākhya says that, in the middle of words, the second, third and fourth sounds of the five vargas are not followed by the same sounds<sup>4</sup>. But this may appear to be wrong since such words as *lajjā, majjā* are found in classical Sanskrit. But it seems they are not found in Ṛgveda. *l* is not followed by *r*<sup>6</sup>; *v* is not followed by the first four sounds of each of the five vargas, but is preceded by them<sup>7</sup>; the fricatives are not followed by the second or fourth sound of each varga<sup>8</sup>; *r* is not followed by *r*<sup>9</sup>; *h* does not follow an explosive<sup>10</sup>; *y* is not followed by *l* or explosives, but is preceded by them<sup>11</sup>.

Here the points to be noted are the following:—Tamil allows all explosives except *ṭ* and *ṇ* after *y* while Sanskrit does not. On the other hand, Tamil does not allow *y* after the stops,

1. *Ūsmāntahstharsōṣma-cakāravargā nāntam yāntyananyatra visarjanīyāt.* (R. V. P. 12. 1.)
2. A. V. P. 1. 5.
3. Classical Sanskrit allows *jh* as an initial member. cf. *jhaṭiti*.
4. *Rkāra-ḷkārāu paramardhamūṣmaṇām nādiṇ takārād-avarē ca sapta.* (R. V. P. 12, 2.)
5. *Nānyōnyēna madhyamāḥ sparśavar-gāḥ samyujyantē.* (ibid. 12, 3.)
6. *Na lakārēṇa rēphah.* (ibid. 12, 4.)
7. *Sparsair-vakārō na parair-anuttamāḥ.* (ibid. 12, 5.)
8. *Tathā tēṣām ghōṣiṇaḥ sarvathōṣmaḥḥ.* (ibid. 12, 6.)
9. *Na rēpho rēphēṇa.* (ibid. 12, 3.)
10. *Na sparśāir-ūsmā prathamāḥ parassan.* (ibid. 12, 10.)
11. *Lakāra-sparśāir na yakāra uttarāḥ.* (ibid. 12, 14)



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while Sanskrit allows it. But both Sanskrit and Tamil agree in not allowing *r* to be followed by *r*, *l* to be followed by *r* and *v* to be followed by *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *ḷ* and *p*.

It seems to me that Tolkāppiyāṇār has followed the Prātiśākhya here also as in the case of mentioning initial and final vowels.

1.5. Secondary sounds which are classed by Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants:—1.51. Ancient period: Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions *āyṭam* as a secondary sound but does not say whether it is a vowel or a consonant.

1.52. Medieval period:—The author of Vīracōḷiyam mentions none in this category. The author of Nēminātam mentions 217 secondary sounds under this category consisting of 216 vowel-consonants and one 'shortened *āyṭam*'. The author of Nannūḷ adds the unshortened *āyṭam* to the above list, and he divides it into eight. I think it would have been much better if he had divided it into six according as it is succeeded by one of *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *ḷ*, *p* and *r* without adding two more as *ṣ* in *aṣṭu* and *aṣṭaṭiya* where it evidently precedes one of the above six consonants.

1.53. Modern period.—The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Nannūḷār except in discarding the shortened *āyṭam*, on the authority of Tolkāppiyāṇār who has not stated that the *āyṭam*, which is substituted for *l* and *ḷ* in the sandhi *al + tiṇai = aṣṭiṇai* and *mul + tili = muṣṭili*, is shortened.

1.54. It has already been mentioned in 1.222 *supra* that it is a mistake to have included vowel-consonants among secondary sounds and that they are not at all unitary sounds. As regards the shortened *āyṭam*, I fully agree with the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam. Hence of the secondary sounds which are classed by the Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants that which is to be dealt with here is only *āyṭam*.

1.55. '*Āyṭam*':—1. 551. In the ancient period it appears that this was not included in the alphabet between vowels and consonants, since Tolkāppiyāṇār says in the first sūtra '*Akara mutal naḱaraviruvāy (eḷuttu) muṭṭaṭenpa*' (which means thirty letters from *a* to *ṇ*) and mentions *āyṭam* in the second sūtra. But in the medieval period, it was included between them as it is now, since the author of Vīracōḷiyam says so<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Arinta-v-eḷuttam-muṇ paṇṇiraṇṭūvika lāṇa-kam-muṇ*  
*Piranta-patiṇettū meṇ-natū-v-āyṭam*..... (V. C. 1.)  
 VI-7



Dr. Caldwell has written it along with the vowels and mentions in page 353 that it is 'a sort of guttural'; but whether it is a vowel or a consonant or neither must be carefully considered.

1.552. *Ancient period*:—Tolkāppiyaṇār says that *āyṭam* is one of the secondary sounds and appears in the middle of words after a short vowel and before a voiceless consonant followed by a vowel<sup>1</sup>, and also its place of production is determined by that of the consonant in whose company it is<sup>2</sup>. It is classed by him neither as a vowel nor as a consonant. This is perhaps due to Pāṇini not having classed *jihvāmūliya* or *upadhmānīya* as a vowel or a consonant.

1.553. *Medieval and Modern periods*:—Nēminātam says that it is one of the 31 primary sounds<sup>3</sup>; but this is wrong. In Naṇṇūl, the grammar of the medieval period and in Iḷakkaṇa-ṇiḷakkam of the modern period<sup>4</sup> it is said to be an open sound and its place of production is the head<sup>5</sup>. This is quite contrary to what is said in Tolkāppiyam. How can it be an open sound? Its pronunciation is just like that of the spirant<sup>6</sup> *jihvāmūliya* in *kaḥ karōti* when it is followed by *k*, and the spirant *upadhmānīya* in *kaḥ phalati* when it is followed by *p*. In Tamil it can come even before *c*, *t*, *l* and *r* which is not the case in Sanskrit. It must be pronounced by allowing the air to reach that part of the vocal organs where the following consonant is produced and suddenly arresting it so that a part of the air may escape with friction as in the case of fricatives. Hence Tolkāppiyaṇār says that its place of articulation is that of the letter in whose company it is. This must evidently be the consonant that follows it. This statement is almost similar to what is said in the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya as regards *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h*, *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya*<sup>7</sup>.

1. *Kuriyatan munṇa r-āyṭa-p pulḷi*  
*Uyiroṭu puṇarnta-val lāraṇ ṇicaittē* (Tol. E. 38.)
2. *Cārntu-vari ṇ-allatū tamakkiyal pila-v-eṇat*  
*Tērntu-velī p paṭutta v-eṇai mūṇṇun*  
*Tattaṇ cārpiṇ piṇapporū civaṇi*  
*Oṭta kāṭciyir ṇam-m-iyal piyalum.* (ibid. 101.)
3. *Āvi yākara-muta l-āriraṇṭū m-āyṭam-iṭai*  
*Mēvum*..... (N. N. E. 1.)
4. *Āytaneṇ cōcaiṇi ṇ-aṇkāṇ tiyalum.* (I. V. 13.)
5. *Āyṭak kiṭan-taḷai y-aṇkāṇ muyaṇci.* (Na. 87.)
6. cf. *Uttarē aṇṇi uṣmāṇaḥ.* (R. V. P. i, 12.)
7. *Parē ṣaḍ uṣmāṇaḥ.* (Tai. P. i, 9.) and *Sparśasthānēṣu uṣmāṇa*



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Thus in pronouncing  $\text{ṣ}$  in *eṣkū*, *kaṣcū*, *muṣṭitū*, *aṣtū*, *aṣpōtanī*, *kaṣṣitū*, the air must respectively be allowed to reach the soft palate, middle of the hard palate, the front portion of the hard palate, the teeth, the lips and the top of the hard palate. This is also borne out by the fact that it is replaced by a consonant similar to its succeeding consonant; *muṣṭitū* is changed to *mut-ṭitū*<sup>1</sup>, *kaṣṣitū* to *karritū*<sup>2</sup>, *oruṣṣitū* + *onrū* to *oruṣṭattonrū*<sup>3</sup>, and so on. Besides, one can see from euphony in the expression *kūrṛa-k-koṣṣēr* (Pattu. 236, 633)  $\text{ṣ}$  cannot be guttural, but only a spirant produced where *r* is produced. It is therefore a kind of arrested voiceless spirant resembling in its sound the first part of the affricate reversed and hence it was not in the ancient and medieval periods a guttural as Dr. Caldwell thinks, nor is it an open sound produced at the head as many of the grammarians of the medieval and modern periods think<sup>4</sup>.

But it is now pronounced in all cases in the same way as if it were before 'k'. It is evident however that it does not conform to etymology; for it is not generally possible to have a guttural spirant or fricative before a palatal, cerebral, dental or labial consonant. The forms *muṣṭitū* and *kaṣṣitū* are respectively formed by the combination of two words *mut + titū* and *kal + titū*; in the former case the initial *t* of *titū* is cerebralised by the influence of the preceding cerebral *l*, and *l* is correspondingly changed to  $\text{ṣ}$  by being assimilated to *t*. Can the sound assimilated to a cerebral be a guttural? Similarly in the latter case the initial *t* of *titū* is changed to cerebral *r* by the influence of the preceding *l* and consequently *l* is changed to  $\text{ṣ}$  by being assimilated to *r*; nowhere is a guttural seen in Tamil words before 'r'.

I cannot definitely find out how and when this unetymological pronunciation of  $\text{ṣ}$  came into existence. But I may say that it may have come after the 8th or 9th century A. D., since the

*ānupūrvyēṇa*. (Tai. P. 2 44.) and *Jihvāmūliyah kavargasthānē*

..... *upadhṁānīyah pavargasthānē*. (Tai. P. 2, 44, Comm.)

1. *Āyta nilaiyalum varai-nilai y-iṇṇē*  
*Takaram varūn kālai y-āṇa*. (Tol. E. 400.)
2. *Takaram varu-vali y-āyta nilaiyalum*  
*Pukariṇ r-eṇmanṇār pulamai yōrē*. (ibid. 370.)
3. *Oruṣṣṭi-muṇ ṇ-onṇu-muta l-onpān*  
*Eṇṇu m avai-y-ūr piṇavu m-eytiṇ*  
*Āyta m-āliya-v-āṇ tākun ta-v-v-ē*. (Na. 196.)
4. *Āyta-k-k-iṭan-talai y-aikū muyarci*  
..... (Na. 87.)



word *iydeludi*<sup>1</sup> for *i&deludi* is found in line 152 of the Vēlvikuḍi Grant published in Epigraphica India, Vol. XVII Part VII which shows that & before *d* was pronounced like *y* at that time. If the dental spirant is carelessly pronounced, it may almost resemble 'y'. But since in most of the simple words where it occurs it is followed by the guttural, possibly the guttural sound was generalised throughout<sup>2</sup>. Owing to this modern pronunciation of &, one symbol 'k' is being used by the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University<sup>3</sup>.

Another point deserves to be noted as regards the origin of *āylam*. It is not found in Telugu and Canarese, nor in pure Malayalam words. Even in Tamil it is not an indispensable letter since it can be replaced by its succeeding letter. Besides, its sound before *k* and *p* respectively agrees with that of visarga before a guttural and a labial (i.e.) *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhīnāniya*. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar writes in his article on '*Tolkāppiyānārum Puḷḷiyeluttum*' in page 153 Vol. XXV of Centamil published by the Tamil Sangam at Madura that in ancient times *āylam* was represented by *visarga*. Hence it seems to me that the visarga which is used before a guttural and a labial as *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhīnāniya* was borrowed from Sanskrit and extended in its use before all the voiceless consonants in Tamil

1. The word in the grant in Tamil script should be இய்தெழுதி. I think it would have been pronounced then as *iyteluti* though it is transliterated in the Epigraphica Indica as *iydeludi*.

2. a&kam	a&karam	akal	a&ku
a&kēnam	a&kāṇ	a&ti	a&p&tam
i&ti	e&kam	e&ku	ka&cu
ka&ru	Compound words like <i>mu&amp;iti</i> , <i>ka&amp;iti</i> , etc.		

3. Its definition in the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras that it is 'the 13th letter of the Tamil alphabet occurring only after a short initial letter and before a hard consonant as *a&kam*, and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant' is defective in two ways:— 'after a short initial letter' must be changed as 'after a short vowel'; 'and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant' must be changed as 'and is a fricative; but mentioned by the Tamil Grammarians neither as a vowel nor as a consonant'. Hence Dr. Beschi's statement '*āytam-enratu itukuri-p-peyar mutaleluttu muppatiṇ onrallatu-vērāy nirralānum uyirp&la-t tapittoli-yātumāy meyp&la uyir-ērappērātumāy mutal-eluttāntanmai eytāmai-yā-nim iru-maruṇkum va&um-eluttai cārntolittalānum cārpeḷuttiṇ onrā-yiṇa*' deserves to be noted. (To. V. 13, Comm.)



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though Dr. Caldwell says that it is a peculiar Tamil letter. (C. D. G. p. 353.).

I am glad to find recently that M. J. Vinson has written in 1916<sup>1</sup> that the extraordinary form of *āytam* is related to the visarga of which it is, without doubt, only an adaptation, though he seems to be confronted with the difficulty from the statement of Tamil grammarians on the authority of Nāṇṇūl that its origin is in the head and is pronounced with the mouth fully open. This clearly shows that the Tamil Pandits with whom he came in contact with had ignored Tolkāppiyam. If they had thought of that work, they would certainly have told the learned professor that its origin depends upon the sounds in whose company it appears (Tol. E. 101) and then he might easily have inferred that, since it follows a vowel and is followed by a voiceless explosive consonant, it could not be a completely open sound. Besides if he had noted that *āytam* was represented by *visarga* in earlier days<sup>2</sup>, it would have strengthened his inference to a considerable extent.

He derives the word *āytam* from the Sanskrit word *āyudha* and also states that he did not know any example of *āytam* outside the grammars; the former point is disproved by the opinion of the late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar noted below. As for the latter, many examples are found in Sangam works. cf. *paṣṟuḷi maṇaliṇum* (P. N. 9, 11.): *iṣṭiyām iranta paṛicil aṣṭirūḷin* (P. N. 145. 8): *eṣṭuṟu viḷuppuṇ* (P. N. 233. 7.): *yāṅkaṣṭuṇṭeṇa* (P. N. 319. 4.)

Similarly, the Rev. Dr. Pope is of opinion that 'it may be an imitation of Sanskrit visarga and it is used in poetry only.' (cf. P. H. T. L. p. 13.) But now it is used in prose also. For instance, the word *aṣṭu* and *iṣṭu* are used if they are followed by words commencing with a vowel, as *aṣṭu inṅē illai*, etc.

The late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar said in one of his lectures delivered in 1925 under the auspices of the Teachers' Guild, Madras, that there is coincidence between the term *cāṛpeḷuttu* applied to *āytam* in Tamil Grammar and the term *parāśṛitāu* applied to *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmāniya* in Pāṇinīya-śikṣā, and hence the word *āytam* is the tamilised form of *āśṛita*.

1. 'Sur un caractere Singulier Dans L'alphabet Tamoul in Journal Asiatique Onzieme Serie Tome VII, 1916, p. 343.

2. *Tolkāppiyānārum Pulliyeluttum* by Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, p. 153, Centamil, Vol. XXV.



## THE CONCEPT OF LAKṢAṆA IN BHARATA\*

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### SYNOPSIS.

I. General. II. The text of Bharata on the subject : 2 recensions—III. The literature on the subject—IV. Its three names : Lakṣaṇa, Bhūṣaṇa and Nātyālaṅkāra—V. The Daśapakṣī, '10 views', on the subject in the Abhinava Bhāratī—VI. Probable authors of the views in the Daśapakṣī—VII. Criticism of the Daśapakṣī—VIII. Abhinavagupta's own view—IX. Other writers on the subject : i. Daṇḍin, Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Jayadeva, Śiṅgabhūpāla and Viśvānātha. ii. Commentators, Rāghavabhaṭṭa Jagaddhara Alaka and Ruciṣpati—X. Bharata's own view ; the text of Bharata independently studied—conclusion—XI. Supplement : table of the Lakṣaṇas in the various lists according to the different writers.

### I

Sāhitya along with grammar and prosody finds treatment at the hands of Bharata under Vācikābhinaya, the Kāvya which is the text of the drama. The Kāvya, Bharata says, should have 36 Lakṣaṇas.

काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणान्विताः । XVI. 169. In chapter 17, he gives a list of 36 Lakṣaṇas and defines each. In the end he calls them 'काव्यविभूषण', adornments to Kāvya. He does not illustrate these as he illustrates the metres and Alaṅkāras. He does not specify their place in Kāvya and does not define their difference from Alaṅkāra. This concept of Lakṣaṇa is not elaborated very much in later literature on Poetics or Dramaturgy.

\* Some account of lakṣaṇa is available in Vol. II of Dr. S. K. De's Sanskrit poetics, first under Bharata and then under Jayadeva. This paper tries to be complete and contains new contribution on the subject from the Abhinava Bhāratī, the corrupt text of which in the Madras ms., I studied and reconstructed, as far as possible, with the help of my Professor, M. M. U. S. Kuppaswami Śāstrigal.



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Many of these look like Alaṅkāras while some actually go by names which are Alaṅkāras in later literature. There is no clear grasp of the exact nature of Lakṣaṇa in the few writers on Dramaturgy who treat of it. Bharata certainly means them to be features of Kāvya in general and not of drama only. It would seem, by Bharata's mentioning them first and by giving 36 of them, Bharata considers Lakṣaṇa of greater importance than Alaṅkāra. It had its day when it loomed large in the field, eclipsing Alaṅkāra, which was poor in numbers. But gradually Lakṣaṇa died in the Alaṅkāra Śāstra. Writers on drama took it up, some enthusiastically defining and illustrating them, some doing so out of loyalty to Bharata and some dismissing them as having been included in Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas. This lost Paddhati of Lakṣaṇa has a history of its own which is the subject of this paper.

## II

In chapter 17, Bharata gives a list of 36 Lakṣaṇas, defines each and in the end indicates their character and place in the Kāvya in one verse. This portion of the Nāṭya Śāstra has two recensions, even as the portions on metres and Guṇas. The text on Guṇas followed by Abhinava is not the one followed by Maṅgala, whose fragments on the concept of Guṇa are available in Māṇikyaçandra and Hemacaṇḍa. But as regards metres and Lakṣaṇa's Abhinava is acquainted with both the recensions. He notes both the recensions as regards the definitions of the Lakṣaṇas and says he follows mainly the recension handed down to him through his teacher. 'उद्देशक्रमस्तु अस्मदुपाध्यायपरम्परागतः।' p. 384. He also says he will indicate the other recension also then and there. Accordingly while treating of the Lakṣaṇas, one by one, he notices their definitions in the other recension and also tries, with difficulty, to show how both mean the same thing. The Kāvya-mālā edition of the Nāṭya Śāstra has the recension followed by Abhinava. It is in Upajāti metre. The other recension is in Anuṣṭubh verses and is found in the Kāśī edition which also gives in the footnote the Upajāti recension. The Rasārṇavasudhākara and Sāhityadarpaṇa follow the Anuṣṭubh recension while Bhoja, with whom elaboration is the principle, must have been acquainted with both recensions,

2. References to the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata are to the Kāśī edition of that work. References to the Abhinava Bhāratī are to Vol. II of that work in the ms. of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.



Since he makes up a list of 64 Lakṣaṇas from both recensions. The Daśarūpa follows the Upajāti recension. The two recensions differ in their enumeration as well as in the definition of each Lakṣaṇa. Only 17 Lakṣaṇas are common to both. The table at the end of this paper shows the Lakṣaṇas according to the two lists, how Abhinava includes those of the Anuṣṭubh list in one or the other of the Upajāti list, etc.

## III

Coming to the literature on the subject of Lakṣaṇa—Besides Abhinava's Commentary on this portion of the Nāṭya Śāstra, which deals elaborately with Lakṣaṇa, earlier Commentaries of Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka must have dealt with the concept of Lakṣaṇa. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Hṛdayadarpaṇa also probably dealt with it. We have sure evidence of Bhaṭṭa Tauta having treated of Lakṣaṇas. In an extract given from his Kāvya-kautuka in the Abhinava Bhāratī on p. 541, Vol. II we find Lakṣaṇa included in his enumeration of the 'Kāvya-paddhatis', along with Guṇa, Rīti, Alaṅkāra, etc. Further Abhinava ascribes to Tauta certain definite views on Lakṣaṇa during the course of his attempt to explain the difference between Alaṅkāra and Lakṣaṇa. We noted above how the Upajāti recension was handed down to Abhinava from his teacher, *i. e.*, from his teacher's Kāvya-kautuka, upon which Abhinava had commented. Before Abhinavagupta, views on Lakṣaṇa were very confused, as is seen from Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Lakṣaṇas which opens with 10 Pūrvapakṣas on the real nature of the concept of Lakṣaṇa. Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa enumerates, defines and illustrates, not 36 of them, but 64. Śāradātanaya follows Bhoja. The Daśarūpa and Avaloka mention the 36 Lakṣaṇas and briefly indicate their inclusion in Alaṅkāras and Bhāvas. Śiṅgabhūpāla calls them 'Bhūṣaṇa', gives 36 of them, defines and illustrates them. The Sāhitya-darpaṇa also gives them with definitions and illustrations. Nāṭakacandrikā, an unpublished work on Drama criticises the Sāhityadarpaṇa and follows the Rasārṇavasudhākara as regards the 36 Lakṣaṇas. From Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the Śākuntala we learn that Mātṛgupta also dealt with Lakṣaṇas separately in his work on Nāṭya. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa indicates some of the 36 Lakṣaṇas in the several situations of the Śākuntala. Jagad-dhara is another commentator who, in his Tīkā on the Mālātī-mādhava points out a few of the Lakṣaṇas. Rucipati, in his commentary on the Anargharāghava, points out two Lakṣaṇas.



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Rājānaka Alaka, in his commentary on Ratnākara's Haravijayā has occasion to speak of Lakṣaṇa. Alaka follows the Upajāti resension. The only work on poetics proper which treats of Lakṣaṇas is Jayadeva's Candrāloka. It defines only a few of them with illustrations.

## IV

Lakṣaṇa has changed its name in its history. Śiṅga Bhūpāla and his followers call it Bhūṣaṇa. This name is derived from Bharata himself describing the Lakṣaṇa as 'कायविभूषण' and 'भूषणसंमित'. Though Bhoja calls it only as Lakṣaṇa, Śāradātanaya calls it as Bhūṣaṇa at the beginning and ends by calling it as Alaṅkāra. Jagaddhara calls it as Nātyālaṅkāra.

## V

Bhārata's own view of Lakṣaṇa as far as it can be made out from his text alone, must be taken up only lastly. Before that we shall see what views of Lakṣaṇa are contained in the Abhinava Bhārati. Abhinavagupta gives a number of confused views held by others and at the end of these he numbers them as ten. But actually, on first reading, we get only eight views. The text here is very corrupt and lost also here and there. These following ten views can be made out of this portion of the Abhinava Bhārati. pp. 379-381. Vol. II. Mad. Mss.

i. Lakṣaṇa is different from Guṇa which is inherent in Rasa, the soul of poetry. As belonging to the body of poetry, Lakṣaṇa is on a par with Alaṅkāra with this difference: It is not separate from the body (*i. e.*) it is not पृथक्सिद्ध. Alaṅkāra is separate from the body. Lakṣaṇa is the body itself and as such is further adorned with Alaṅkāras. Just as we take the metaphor of necklace or anklet when we talk of Alaṅkāra, so also we have to take the metaphor of the Lakṣaṇa of the body, such as the Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇas, when we speak of the Kāvya-lakṣaṇa. This Lakṣaṇa is two-fold—natural, Siddharūpa, such as the quality of having broad eyes and artificial, Sādhyarūpa, such as the occasional grace while adopting a beautiful gait.

“तल्लक्षणं येन शरीरस्य सौन्दर्यं जायते । तच्च सिद्धरूपं साध्यरूपं वा, यथा श्यामेति मदमन्यरगामिनीति च । एतदेव लक्षणम् ; तच्चालंक्रियतेऽलंकारैर्युक्तं काव्यम् । ..... तदेल्लक्षणं द्विधेति, यथा श्यामा विशालाक्षी, मत्तमातङ्गरगामिनीति च ।”



ii. Some others think that situations or parts of the plot of the drama or the minor Sandhyaṅgakas are called Lakṣaṇa. Just as the Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇas like Pāśa and Dhvaṇa indicate the greatness and the beauty of a Mahāpuruṣa, so also these Lakṣaṇas which are so many points in the development of the plot beautify the story.

“अन्ये मन्यन्ते—इतिवृत्तखण्डलकान्येव सन्ध्यङ्गकानि लक्षणानीति च व्यपदिश्यन्ते । .....  
काव्यगतख्यातिप्राशस्त्योपयोगितया महापुरुषगतपाशध्वजपादरेखादिवल्लक्षणशब्द-  
वाच्यता । तदुक्तं तत्रैव—

‘लक्षणान्येव बीजार्थक्रमनिर्वाहाय कानिचित् ।

प्रतिसन्धितदङ्गानि फलसिद्धयुपपत्तितः ॥’ इति

iii. Some differentiate Guṇas, Alaṅkāras and Lakṣaṇas not by the आश्रयाश्रयिभाव adopted by those who hold the first view, but by defining three different activities on the part of the poet's faculty in introducing the Guṇas, Alaṅkāras and Lakṣaṇas in a Kāvya. The poet's imagination has three activities, Vyāpāras, and three corresponding vibrations, Parispandas. In the very first vibration the poet's genius conceives the Rasa and its Guṇa, say Śṛṅgāra and its guṇa, Mādhurya. The second vibration which is also called Varṇanā, effects the introduction of Alaṅkāra. The third activity chooses the words and ideas. The effect of this third activity is the actual body of poetry, the Kāvyaśarīra, suggesting the presence of the ten Guṇas, Śleṣa, etc. That beauty of the Kāvyaśarīra which is the effect of this third activity and which is not covered by the beauty effected by an Alaṅkāra is what is called Lakṣaṇa.

“एते (के)षां तु दर्शनम्—कवेः यः प्रतिभात्मा प्रथमपरिस्पन्द[त]: तद्व्यापारबलोपनतेषु(ताः) गुणाः । प्रतिभावत एव हि रसाभिव्यञ्जनसामर्थ्य-  
माधुर्यादिः उपनिबन्धन (माधुर्याद्युपनिबन्धन)सामर्थ्यं, न सामान्यकवेः । अनेन  
शब्देन इदं वस्तु वर्णयामीत्येवंभूतवर्णनापरपर्यायद्वितीयव्यापारसंपाद्यस्त्वं-  
कारः । शब्दः(दान्) अमीभिः शब्दैरर्थानमीभिरर्थैः संघटयामीत्येवमात्मकस्तु  
यस्तृतीयः कवेः परिस्पन्दः तदधीनात्मलाभादिः शब्दार्थात्मिककाव्यशरीरसंश्रितानि  
वक्ष्यमाणश्लेषादिगुणदशकसमभिव्यञ्जनव्यापाराणि शब्दार्थोपसंस्कारकल्पानि क्रिया-  
रूपाणीति ।



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अत्र पक्षे कविव्यापारभेदात् गुणालंकारलक्षणविभागः ।” p. 380.

This view seems to be like the first by making Lakṣaṇa the Kāvya-śarīra. This view further seems to formulate two sets of Guṇas, one, the three Guṇas, माधुर्य, ओजस् and प्रसाद, which are said to be here in Rasa as Rasadharmas and the other, the ten Guṇas of the words, श्लेष etc. The suggesting of these and the general beautifying of Śabda and Artha, forming the body of Kāvya, is said to be Lakṣaṇa by those who hold this view.

iv. The fourth view, instead of restricting the Lakṣaṇas to Vākyas or points in the plot, lifts them to the position of प्रबन्धधर्म—Characteristics of different kinds of poems. As for instance, some poems are characterised by the speciality of having profuse adornment of Guṇas and Alaṅkāras. Such poems are called by the first Lakṣaṇa called Bhūṣaṇa, which Bharata defines as the ample use of Guṇas and alaṅkāras.

अलंकारैर्गुणैश्चैव बहुभिः समलंकृतम् ।

भूषणैरिव चित्रार्थैस्तद्भूषणमिति स्मृतम् ॥ XVII. 6.

The example given here for such poem, (*i.e.*) a Bhūṣaṇa prabandha, is Meghadūta !

“तथा हि—किञ्चित् प्रबन्धजातं गुणालंकारनिकरप्रधानम्, यथा मेघदूताख्यम्, तद्विभूषणम् । एवमन्यदपीति प्रबन्धधर्मा लक्षणानि ।” p. 381.

v. We are unable to have much light as regards the fifth view of which we have only a little fragment. It says—

“केचित्तु ब्रुवते—कवेरभिप्रायविशेषो लक्षणम्, इति । p. 381

vi. Certain others are said to view Lakṣaṇa as the proper use of Guṇas and Alaṅkāras, (*i.e.*) in accordance with the principle of Rasa-aucitya.

“इतरे पुनर्मन्यन्ते—यथास्थावनिवेशनं यत् गुणालंकारं(राणां) यदूनं (?) तल्लक्षणम् ।” p. 381:

vii. The seventh view has affinities with the first and third views. It takes its stand on the fact that Lakṣaṇa, like Alaṅkāra belongs to the body of Kāvya and secondly, like Alaṅkāra, it is a beautifying factor. The beautiful Kāvyaśarīra itself is held as Lakṣaṇa. Such beauty as is inherent in Kāvya like the Amar-śataka, even in the absence of Alaṅkāras or what may be called as natural beauty, is the proper scope for the concept of Lakṣaṇa.



“परे त्वाभाषन्ते—अलंकारादिनिरपेक्षेणैव (क्षयैव) निसर्गसुन्दरो योऽभि-  
नयविशेषः काव्येषु, अमरकल्लोकेष्वपि, तत्सौन्दर्यहेतुर्यो धर्मः स लक्ष्यः  
(लक्षणं) स एव चार्थः काव्यविशेषरूपो लक्षणम् ।” p. 381.

viii. The eighth view has been made out with great difficulty for the text here is completely lost except for a small fragment. This view differentiates Lakṣaṇa on this score: Bharata has given only three Alaṅkāras. Upamā, Dipaka and Rūpaka. These three become infinite with manifold species. The means of their multiplication is the interaction of these three Alaṅkāras with the 36 Lakṣaṇas. The text available is this—

‘उपमादीपकरूपकाणामानन्यात् भेदमाहुः ।’

This view is more elaborately found in a further context and from there we may reconstruct this text as—

‘उपमादीपकरूपकाणाम् आनन्त्यप्रयोजकत्वात् भेदमाहुः ।’

In discussing the difference between Alaṅkāra and Lakṣaṇa, in the Alaṅkāra section, Abhinava gives the same view more elaborately and as his own teacher's (*i.e.*) Bhaṭṭa Tauta's. Upamā becomes प्रशंसोपमा by adding to it the Lakṣaṇa called गुणानुवाद; it becomes अतिशयोक्ति if the Lakṣaṇa called अतिशय is added to it and so on. This view of Tanta is very clever and though it does not correctly define Lakṣaṇa and its nature, yet indicates how it is an easy transition from Lakṣaṇa to alaṅkāra.

“उपाध्यायमतन्तु—लक्षणबलात् अलंकाराणां वैचित्र्यमागच्छति ।  
तथापि (हि) गुणानुवादननाम्ना लक्षणेन योगात् प्रशंसोपमा । अतिशयनाम्नो-  
ऽतिशयोक्तिः । मनोरथाख्येन अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा । मिथ्याध्यवसायेन अपह्नुतिः ।  
[अ] सिद्धया तुल्ययोगितेत्येवमन्यदुत्प्रेक्ष्यम् ।” p. 404.

ix. The ninth view is obscure since only a fragment of the text as regards it is available.

‘शब्देन अर्थेन चित्रत्वं लक्षणमित्यन्ये ।’

Abhinava laterly uses this view also and explains it as the beautification of Śabda by Śabda, of Śabda by Artha, of Artha by Śabda and of Artha by Artha. In effect this view also comes to be the same as the third view, Lakṣaṇa being held to be such beauty of the body of poetry as is present even in the absence of any Alaṅkāra.



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x. The tenth and the last view, as Abhinava himself points out, does not differ from the second view very much. Just as in the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra the different subject heads are distinguished by the Lakṣaṇas, प्रसङ्ग, बाध, अतिदेश etc., so also in Kāvya, particular points in the story go by the name Bhūṣaṇa, Akṣara-saṅghāta and other Lakṣaṇas. This view thus, except for the illustration from the Mīmāṃsā is not different from the second Pakṣa which holds Lakṣaṇas to be 'इतिवृत्तखण्डक's or 'सन्ध्यङ्क's.

## VI

Now as regards the authors of these ten views—We have no evidence to definitely affirm where these views are to be found or who held them. Abhinava does not give the name of the theorists here, as he gives in his discussion on Rasa-realisation. It is not likely that these ten are purely imaginary Pakṣas. In the course of the Exposition of the second and the third view, Abhinava quotes Anuṣṭubh verses with the words तदुक्तं तत्रैव. The third view takes its stand on Vyāpārabheda. From what the Anuṣṭubhs look and the association of Vyāpāra with Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka we may conjecture that some of these views are expounded in Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Hṛdayadarpaṇa. We also know of the Mīmāṃsā predictions of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. So it is likely that the tenth view also is contained in his work. For the illustration from the Mīmāṃsā smacks of his genius. We can also make out the author of the eighth view definitely as Abhinavagupta's own teacher, Bhaṭṭa Tauta, whose work, the Kāvyaakautuka must have dealt with the काव्यपद्धति called लक्षण at some length.

## VII

Taking this Daśapakṣī—the 10 views given above, the ideas more commonly associated with Lakṣaṇa are these—

1. Lakṣaṇa belongs to the body of Kāvya.
2. It is a beautifying element.
3. As such, its difference from Alaṅkāra consists in this that it is more comprehensive, is not a separate entity like the ornament, Alaṅkāra, but is Aprthaksiddha, (i.e.) is the Kāvyaśarīra itself. By itself, it gives grace to the Kāvya while Alaṅkāra is added to it for extra-beauty.

This is one group of ideas, taking their inspiration from the metaphor of Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa. Another line of thought is not to bring Lakṣaṇa at all in relation to Kāvya in general nor to take



if, like Alaṅkāra, as a beautifying factor, but to associate it only with drama and the several situations in the development of its plot. Abhinava and his teacher took Lakṣaṇa in accordance with the first group of ideas, considering Lakṣaṇa to be 'Kāvya-sobhā-kara-dharīna', a beautifying element pertaining to the body of Kāvya in general. The other line of thought represented by Pakṣas Nos. 2 and 10, considering Lakṣaṇa to be like Sandhyaṅgas which Abhinava does not accept is the view that has however lived. The works on dramaturgy alone (a few of them) treat of it and these take Lakṣaṇas to be features of drama like the Sandhyaṅgas. The curious and purely speculative views, the connection of which to Bharata's own view we do not see at all, are views No. 4, which takes them to be characteristics which classify the Kāvya into 36 kinds and No. 5 which takes Lakṣaṇa to be the poet's अमिप्रायविशेष. The main view which considers Lakṣaṇa, like Alaṅkāra as a beautifying element pervading the whole of the body of the Kāvya died with Abhinavagupta. The concept of Alaṅkāra, with which, even at its birth Lakṣaṇa has an overlapping of functions, swallows it up. Even Rāghavabhaṭṭa who takes Lakṣaṇa to be separate from Sandhyaṅgas, swearing by Abhinavagupta's great pains to explain them at length as different from Sandhyaṅgas, etc., takes them only as Nāṭakadharmas and not as Kāvya-dharmas in general. Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Śiṅga-bhūpāla and Viśvanātha accept Abhinava's words for their difference from Sandhyaṅgas, but mention them only in Nāṭaka and never as being related comprehensively to poetic expression itself. The Candrālōka is the only Alaṅkāra work which treats of Lakṣaṇa as a feature like Alaṅkāra, of श्रव्यकाव्य. The second line of thought which connects Lakṣaṇas with Sandhyaṅgas was first unconscious of its suicidal suggestion. Daśarūpaka rejects them on the score that they have no individuality and can be included in Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas. Viśvanātha realises this and says that though the 36 Lakṣaṇas can be included in Sandhyaṅgas, etc., they must be shown to be separately existent in a drama for the reason that Bharata has treated of them separately. But many works on dramaturgy do not treat of the Lakṣaṇa at all. The reason is plain. The Daśarūpaka shows us how the Lakṣaṇa-paddhati perished. The Lakṣaṇas lacked individuality and most of them snowed themselves to be some Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas or some Sandhyaṅgas. But it may be observed that the authors on dramaturgy who have shown an extraordinary genius for classification and elaboration



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of Aṅgas on a stupendous scale might have followed the logic of the inclusion of Lakṣaṇa in other concepts and saved us their lists of minor Sandhyaṅgakas, most of which can be shown to be not different at all from some Alaṅkāra or Bhāva. The same criticism applies also to the lovers of Alaṅkāras who have made a list of more than a hundred of them. As for instance the Viṣādana, the Ullāsa, Alaṅkāras in the Kuvalayānanda, are cases of Bhāvas.

## VIII

Coming to Abhinavagupta's own view of Lakṣaṇa—the main thread of his must be caught in the bewildering text on this concept in various places in this chapter. He points out even at the outset that these views cannot stand to be logical when we consider the 36 Lakṣaṇas themselves one by one in the light of these views, for to a certain extent the views have been purely speculative, spinning round the word Lakṣaṇa having its counterpart in the Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa of the human body, without relating themselves to the nature of the individual Lakṣaṇas. So Abhinavagupta makes a convenient suggestion that the 10 views cannot be exclusively and separately followed.

‘एतेषु पक्षेषु अन्यतमग्रहे विशेषणानि न संगच्छन्ते स्पष्टेन पथा ।’

p. 381.

One comprehensive and definite view must be made out of the cloud of these ten Pakṣas. Abhinava adopts shades of each view and gives his own definite idea of Lakṣaṇa, which itself takes conclusive shape only as he proceeds further and further. Here and there Abhinava cannot help pushing new wine into old bottles in his difficult task. One line of thought he has definitely rejected and that is, the association of Lakṣaṇa with Nāṭaka only and taking it as something like Sandhyaṅgakas. He refutes this view in this chapter and elsewhere also while dealing with the Vithyaṅgas. He says there—

“नन्वेषाम् (वीथ्यङ्गानाम्) उक्तिवैचित्र्यरूपत्वं चेत् लक्षण[म्]  
अलंकारादिभ्यः को भेद इति । .....  
न चैतद्व्यतिरिक्तमेषां सामान्यलक्षणमस्ति । तत्र केचिदुक्तलक्षणादि-  
विशेषरूपत्वमेवैषां प्रतिपन्नाः । विवेचकास्तु तद्व्यतिरिक्तान्यवैतानीत्याहुः ।”

pp. 481-2.

In this same context Abhinava thus indicates the difference of Lakṣaṇa and Alaṅkāra on the one hand and the Aṅgas on the other:



‘लक्षणांकारादीनां नोक्तिनियतं रूपमिति विशेषः ।’

Having thus rejected the view that Lakṣaṇas are identical with Sandhyaṅgakas, he combines the various ideas of the other line of thought and says that Lakṣaṇa is Kāvyaśarīra itself. It is said to be the Abhidhāvyāpāra itself as a whole. Commenting on the verse—

षट्त्रिंशदेतानि हि लक्षणानि प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसंमितानि ।

काव्येषु भावार्थगतानि तज्ज्ञैः सम्यक्प्रयोज्यानि यथारसं तु ॥

in the text, Abhinavagupta says that the poetic expression itself as a whole, written in accordance with the Rasa, is called Lakṣaṇa. Lakṣaṇa is nothing but the Abhidhāvyāpāra of the poet's language intended to evoke Rasa.

‘यथारसं ये भावाः विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिणस्तेषां योऽर्थः स्थायी-  
भावरसीकरणात्मकं प्रयोजनान्तरं गतानि प्राप्तानि । यदभिधाव्यापारोपसंक्रान्ता  
उद्यानादयोऽर्थाः तत्र सविशेष(वि)भावादिभावं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तानि लक्षणानीति  
सामान्यलक्षणम् । अत एव काव्ये सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानीति विषयस्तेषामुक्तः ।

p. 383.

This Lakṣaṇa or the beautiful language or the poet's Abhidhā itself is what distinguishes Kāvya from other utterances. And here, as is usual with him wherever he agrees, Abhinava quotes Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who emphasises Abhidhā, or the poet's Vyāpāra in choosing the beautiful mode of expression as the characteristic of Kāvya, which is different from Śāstra or Purāṇa. In Śāstra, Śabda predominates. It is enough in Purāṇa if the story, the Artha, is somehow said. But in Kāvya one looks to the delectable way in which things are put. Thus in Kāvya, the vyāpāra is important while word and idea are subordinate.

‘भट्टनायके(ना)पि (अ)त एव ....अभिधाव्यापारप्रधानं काव्यमित्युक्तम् ।

शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थतत्त्वे तु युक्तेन वदन्तः स्थानमेतयोः ॥

(अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः)

द्वयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यगीर्भवेत् ।

p. 383.

Abhinava quotes Bhāmaha also here to show that Kāvya-śarīra is distinguished from other utterances by the peculiarity of its expression, by its vakoक्ति. Laterly also he says—



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‘बन्धो, गुम्फः, फणितिः, वक्रोक्तिः, कविव्यापार इति हि पर्यायात्  
लक्षणं त्वलंकारशून्यमपि न निरर्थकम् ।’

p. 405.

‘तत्र चित्तवृत्त्यात्मकं रसं लक्षयन् तद्रसोचितविभावादि[त्वं]संपादकः  
त्रिविधोऽभिधाव्यापारो लक्षणशब्देनोच्यते इत्येषां सामान्यलक्षणम् । \* \*  
एवं किञ्चिदभिधीयमानं केनचिद्रूपेण रसोचितेन विभावादिरूपेण तमेव पदार्थक्रमं  
लक्षयन् लक्षणम् ।’

p. 382.

Immediately after quoting the above given verses from  
Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka he says—

‘भामहेनापि—‘सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते’ इत्यादि ।  
तेन परमार्थे व्यापार एव लक्षणम् ।’

In another place he says—

‘सर्वो विभावाद्युचितो निर्वर्ण्यमाणः काव्यलक्षणत्वेन सूचितः ।’

p. 399.

If Lakṣaṇa should be thus taken as equal to poetic ex-  
pression, the natural consequence is that Lakṣaṇas are not 36 only  
but as many as the poetic expressions. This Abhinava grants  
and says that Bharata only indicated a few, 36 of such possible  
Lakṣaṇas. He adds that it is because of this that, according to  
another view, Bharata gives another set of Lakṣaṇas with defini-  
tions. Abhinava here refers to the Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti  
recensions, takes both of them as given by Bharata, but says,  
that he follows the list handed down from his own teacher.<sup>1</sup>

‘तथा च मतान्तरेण भरतमुनिरेव अन्यथाप्युद्देशलक्षणेन च नामान्तरैरपि  
लक्षणान्तरैरपि च व्यवहारं करोति । तत एव पुस्तकेषु भेदो दृश्यते । तं च  
दर्शयिष्यामः । परितोद्देशक्रमस्तु (?) अस्मदुपाध्यायपरम्परागतः ।’ p. 384.

It also follows, if Lakṣaṇa is Kāvyaśarīra it has further adorn-  
ment with Alaṅkāras. So says Abhinava—

1. But this is an after-thought which Abhinava got up as evidence  
for his view of infinity of Lakṣaṇas. It is also a passing thought, for  
instead of, consistently with this, explaining the two sets with different  
illustrations, he tries with great difficulty to show the identity of many  
of the Lakṣaṇas of the Anuṣṭubh list with those of the other, which he  
mainly follows.

V1—9



‘एवं कविव्यापसरबलात् यदर्थजातं लौकिकात् स्वभावात् विद्यमानं तदेव लक्षणमित्युक्तं । तत्र(स्य)शरीरकल्पस्य अलंकारा अधुना वक्तव्याः ।’

p. 404.

‘काव्ये तावल्लक्षणं शरीरम्, तस्य उपमादयः त्रयोऽर्थभागाः ।’ p. 404.

Lakṣaṇa is Kāvya itself while Alaṅkāra is extraneous ornament, Prthaksiddha, Vastvantara.

“एवमर्थस्यापि यद्रसाभिव्यक्तिहेतुत्वं सोऽर्थगुणः । यस्तु वस्त्वन्तरं वदनस्येव चन्द्रः, सोऽलंकारः । यस्तु त्रिविधोऽप्यभिधाव्यापारः स लक्षणानां विषयः ॥” p. 382.

Thus Abhinavagupta adopts the first view, the third view and the seventh view, in generally stating his conception of Lakṣaṇa. In interpreting particular Lakṣaṇas and their definitions given by Bharata, Abhinava adopts the other views related to these views. Thus in explaining the first Lakṣaṇa called Bhūṣaṇa or Vibhūṣaṇa he adopts the sixth view. Bharata defines Bhūṣaṇa thus—

अलंकारैर्गुणैश्चैव बहुभिः समलंकृतम् ।

भूषणैरिव विन्यस्तैस्तद्भूषणमिति स्मृतम् ॥

Abhinava says here that Bhūṣaṇa is the proper use of Alaṅkāras and Guṇas in accordance with the Rasa, with an eye to रसौचित्य. In pointing out what this Rasa-aucitya is and how Alaṅkāras should be introduced in accordance with it, he quotes Ānāṇḍavardhana's Kārikās in the second Uddyota, on Alaṅkāra-Samīkṣā—विवक्षा तत्परत्वेन नाङ्गित्वेन कदाचन etc. and refers to his own Locana thereon.

Then Abhinava adopts the seventh view often in dealing with the definitions of particular Lakṣaṇas and in suitably illustrating them. The verses he cites for a Lakṣaṇa happen to exhibit an Alaṅkāra also. Abhinava notes that fact and says that the beauty of the verse is due, not to the Alaṅkāra but only to the Lakṣaṇa. He shows how there is no ‘गतार्थता’ by Alaṅkāras. Commenting on his illustration for the second Lakṣaṇa called अक्षरसङ्घात, he says—

‘अत्र अर्थस्य अलंकारघटनाप्रयासमन्द(न्ति)रेणैव सुन्दरत्वं लक्षण-कृतमेव ।’

p. 386



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The natural grace of a verse even in the absence of Alaṅkāra as in the verses of Amaruka is due to Lakṣaṇa. This is the view he often adopts. ° He illustrates the third Lakṣaṇa called शोभा by the verse of Śākuntala— 'मेदश्छेदकशोदरं लघु भवत्युत्थानयोग्यं वपुः' etc. and makes the comment that there is no Alaṅkāra in the verse but yet there is beauty in it and that is due to the Lakṣaṇa called Śobhā.

‘न चात्र अलंकारः कश्चिदिति कविव्यापारेण (व्यापारः) यः शब्दार्थ-  
व्यापारादेव अर्थघटनेनात्मा, तत्कृतं हृद्यं लक्षणार्थमेव (?) । अशोभनोऽप्यमुना  
नयेन शोभत इति शोभेयमुक्ता ।’

p. 387.

He adopts the 8th view, which is his own teacher's, in his exposition of the Lakṣaṇa called गुणानुवाद and in other places. Explaining the Lakṣaṇa called गुणकीर्तन he says—

गुणकीर्तनं नाम लक्षणं उपमाश्लेषानुग्राहित्वेन स्थितिः (तम्) ।  
लक्षणानि हि अलंकाराद(न)पि चित्रयन्ति । तदेव अग(ग्र) एव वक्ष्यामः ।’

p. 388.

Here he adopts the 8th view only slightly. He says that the Lakṣaṇa called Guṇakīrtana helps Upamā and Śleṣa and that Lakṣaṇas beautify even Alaṅkāras. He clearly adopts this 8th view that the further elaboration of manifold Alaṅkāras is the result of their interaction with the Lakṣaṇas, in a further passage under the Lakṣaṇa, Guṇānuvāda.

अथ गुणानुवादः । \* \* \* \* यथा

‘पालिता द्यौरिवेन्द्रेण त्वया राजन् वसुन्धरा ।’

ननु उपमेयमलंकारः ? कि...तत (किं ततः ?) उक्तं ह्यलंकाराणां  
वैचित्र्यं लक्षणकृतमेव । एत एव शिक्षितैरपि दण्डिप्रभृतिभिः ये निरूपिताः  
उपामाभेदाः, तत्र यो भेदकोऽशः आचिख्यासासंश्र(श)यनिर्णयादिरर्थः स  
तादृक् पृथगलंकारतया गणितः । गणनेऽपि वा संसृष्टिसंकरापत्तिः । अर्थमात्रं  
तदिति चेत् तर्हि तदेव लक्षणं । यथा हि राजतामविभज्य विचार्यमाणः इत्यमव-  
तिष्ठते—मुकुटाद्यलंकारः शौर्यादिगुणव्यूढोरस्कत्वादिलक्षणसमुदायः । राजा  
अलंकार्यश्च गुणवांश्च लक्षणीयश्च । तथा काव्यमपि । तेन गुणालंकारातिरिक्ताः  
सर्वे लक्षणमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

pp. 390—1.



Whatever beauty in a Kāvya is not due to either Guṇa or Alaṅkāra is due to Lakṣaṇa. If so, will it not be that all Kāvya is Lakṣaṇa? yes, says Abhinavagupta.

‘नन्वेवं सर्वत्र लक्षणयोगः ? न आक्षेपार्थः ? प्रियमेव ह्यस्माकमदः ।’  
p. 381.

Thus in this passage Abhinava combines his teacher's view, (*i.e.*) the eighth with the seventh, reconciles both by making them as parts of a bigger and more comprehensive view of his. Abhinava opines that Lakṣaṇa is sometimes natural grace and sometimes it adds beauty to Alaṅkāra also. Thus he considers it to be more important than Alaṅkāra.

‘अत एव पूर्वं ‘काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणांविताः’ इति लक्षणायेव हि प्रधानम्, तत्प्रसंगेन ग्रहा(गुणा)लंकार(रा) इति । तात्पर्यविशेष-लक्षण(लक्षणतात्पर्यविशेष)व्याख्याने चैतत् स्फुटयिष्यामः ।’

p. 382-3.

Thus Lakṣaṇas are important because they are elaborately enumerated at first, they are the very Kāvyaśarīra,<sup>1</sup> they are elements of natural beauty even in the absence of Alaṅkāras, they are the factors that multiply the three Alaṅkāras into many, and they beautify sometimes even Alaṅkāras. Of these 36, the first however is lifted from the plane of Lakṣaṇa and is made a principle of औचित्य by Abhinava. If Lakṣaṇa should be so elastic or so comprehensive, we would have not 36 of them only, but an infinite number of them. Quite so replies Abhinavagupta. The Lakṣaṇas are अलंकार-अनुग्राहक and in their combinations with each Alaṅkāra, they produce many varieties. In combining

1. It is this idea of Lakṣaṇa as the Kāvyaśarīra itself that Abhinava holds at the end of his commentary on the previous chapter, while commenting on the text, ‘काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणांविताः’, which introduces the topic of Lakṣaṇa in the next chapter. Abhinava here works out a metaphor with a beautiful house, the metre being the ground, Lakṣaṇa, the building of the house itself, Alaṅkāras and Guṇas, the paintings etc.

‘यथा प्रासादकोट्यादिके (?) कर्तव्ये प्रथमं भूमिः, तद्वत् काव्ये निर्मातव्ये भूमिकल्पः छन्दोविधिः, क्षेत्रपरिग्रहवृत्तसमाश्रयमित्यादिविरचनस्थानीयं लक्षणयोजनम्, चित्रकर्मप्रतिममलंकारगुणानिवेशनम्, \* \* \* \* \* एवं भूतवाचिकाभिनयस्वरूपं चतुर्दशादिभिः षड्भिरध्यायैरुच्यते ।’ p. 377.



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among themselves also they breed numberless varieties. Thus infinite are the varieties of beautiful expressions in Kāvya.

‘लक्षणं हि शरीरमित्युक्तम् । \* \* \* \*

ततो नो(उ)पमानशरीरस्य उमेयशरीरस्य वा वैचित्र्य(यं) लक्षणानामेव व्यापारं(रः) इत्येवमुपमारूपकदीपकानां त्रयाणामलंकारत्वेन वक्ष्यमाणानां प्रत्येकं षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणयोगात् लक्षणानामपि च एकद्वित्र्याद्यवान्तरविभागभेदात् ..... केन गणयितुं शक्यम्, इदानीं शतसहस्राणि वैचित्र्याणां सहृदयैरुत्प्रेक्ष्यन्ताम् ।”

p. 401.

In this passage Abhinava gives a new and clever idea. An Upamā is an Alaṅkāra. It is expressed and has its Śarīra. That Śarīra itself has to be beautiful. The beauty of the very expression of Simili or other Alaṅkāras is Lakṣaṇa.

## IX—A.

Daṇḍin as he was going, cast a remark on Lakṣaṇa. For him the whole Kāvya-prapañca is Alaṅkāra-Brahman. Naturally he considered Lakṣaṇa to be Alaṅkāra. When he considered even the Sandhyaṅgas and the Aṅgas of the four Vṛttis, Kaiśikī etc. as Alaṅkāras, there is no wonder that he considered so this concept, Lakṣaṇa which has so much in common with Alaṅkāra. He says—

यच्च सन्ध्यङ्गवृत्त्यङ्गलक्षणाद्यागमान्तरे ।

व्यावर्णितमिदं चेष्टं अलंकारतयैव नः ॥ II. 366.

The Lakṣaṇa referred to in this verse is Bharata's Lakṣaṇa. Taruṇa Vācaspati says—लक्षणम्, विभूषणम् अक्षरसंहतिश्च । आगमान्तरे भरते । Alaṅkāra in Daṇḍin is a wide berth which can conveniently accomodate these and many more.

The Daśarūpaka mentions the Lakṣaṇas at the end and does not treat of them, since it includes them in Alaṅkāras and Bhāvas. This attitude is very logical, since many of the Lakṣaṇas are either Alaṅkāras or Bhāvas. The text says—

षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणादीनि सोमादीन्येकविंशतिः ।

लक्ष्यसन्ध्यन्तराख्यानि सालंकारेषु तेषु च ॥

हर्षोत्साहेषु अन्तर्भावान्न कीर्तिता इति पूर्वश्लोकादध्याहारः ।

The Avaloka adds—



‘विभूषणं चाक्षरसंहतिश्च शोभाभिमानौ गुणकीर्तनं च ।’ इत्येवमादीनि षट्त्रिंशत् काव्यलक्षणानि ‘साम भेदः प्रदानं च’ इत्येवमादीनि सन्ध्यन्तराण्येकविंशतिः उपमादिषु अलंकारेषु हर्षोत्साहादिषु च अन्तर्भावात् न पृथगुक्तानि ।’

Bhoja, in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Vol. II, Chapter 12, p. 450 Mad. Ms.) while dealing with the technique of the drama gives first that the drama shall have 64 Lakṣaṇas.

लक्षणैश्च चतुष्षष्ट्या युक्तं कुर्वीत नाटकम् ।

He comes to the topic, Lakṣaṇa, on p. 524, first enumerates 64 of them, then defines and illustrates each. Bhoja is given to elaboration and he takes up some of the Anuṣṭubh list of 36, some of the Upajāti list of 36, adds a few which are his own and thus makes a good number of 64. Certain numbers have a destiny and in Bhoja's bulky writings, in his classifications, such numbers appear often. This chapter is called ‘प्रबन्धाङ्गचतुष्षष्टिचतुष्टयी’ dealing with 4 sets of 64 Aṅgas of the Prabandhas. Thus it is out of an artistic sense of uniformity that Bhoja made Lakṣaṇas also as 64. For Bhoja's list, see table at the end.

Bhoja is acquainted with both the lists of Bhārata. His definitions are mostly reproductions from Bharata with slight variations. From the name of the chapter we are to take that Bhoja considers Lakṣaṇa as a प्रबन्धाङ्ग like सन्ध्यङ्ग, with which it is clubbed together and described. He generally says that they are for beautifying the work. At the end of his treatment of the Lakṣaṇas he says of them—

एतानि काव्यस्य विभूषणानि प्रायश्चतुष्षष्टिरुदाहृतानि ।

प्रबन्धशोभाकरणाय तज्ज्ञैः सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानि यथारसानि ॥

Bhoja takes Lakṣaṇas as features of dramas only. He tries to give us some distinction between the Lakṣaṇas and the Sandhya-āṅgas. After illustrating the first Lakṣaṇa called Bhūṣaṇa, which is speech full of Alaṅkāras and Guṇas, he says—

“अत्र श्लेषोपमाप्रत्यक्षादिभिरलंकारैः श्लेषप्रसादसौकुमार्यादिभिश्च गुणैरुपेतता द्रष्टव्या । एवं वक्ष्यमाणेष्वपि गुणालंकारा यथासंभवमूहनीयाः ।.....कारैश्च नियमो नारभ्यन्ते ? । सन्ध्यङ्गेषु तु गुणालंकारयोगो नो(ना)पेक्ष्यत इति ।”

The text is incomplete and corrupt. Bhoja means to say that just as the first Lakṣaṇa involves Guṇas and Alaṅkāras, so also the



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others and it is this that differentiates Lakṣaṇas from Sandhyaṅgaḥ which do not involve Guṇa or Alaṅkāra. This explanation is clever and shows us how many Lakṣaṇas look like Alaṅkāra but is against Bharata, who gave Bhūṣaṇa alone as 'profuse with Guṇas and Alaṅkāras' and never meant the extension of its nature to the other Lakṣaṇas also.

Śāradātanaya, in his Bhāvaprakāśa, deals with Lakṣaṇas in Chapter 8. In the Nāṭya Śāstra we see the Lakṣaṇa described as Bhūṣaṇa. 'प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसंमितानि' 'एतानि वा काव्यविभूषणानि।' So some writers have called the Lakṣaṇas as Bhūṣaṇa also. There is propriety in this name from the point of view of function, since all the writers say that Lakṣaṇas adorn the Kāvya. Śāradātanaya calls them Bhūṣaṇas and gives them as one of the items in the technique of Nāṭaka. He says—'षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणाणि च': '36 Lakṣaṇas also'. But while enumerating and defining he gives 54. At the end again he mentions their total number as 64 and calls the Lakṣaṇa here as नाट्यालंकार. 'चतुष्पाष्टिरलंकाराः कथिता नाटकाश्रयाः' p. 224. Gaek. ed. Thus, as in other places, Śāradātanaya makes a huge mess. Śāradātanaya's list contains Lakṣaṇas from both the lists. A few of them are new. 26 are from the Upajāti list and 14 are from the Anuṣṭubh list. The remaining 14 in the total of 54, are new. They are—

नयः, स्पृहा, अभिज्ञानम्, उद्देशः, नीतिः, अर्थविशेषणम्, निवेदनम्, परिवादः, उद्यमः, परिहारः, आश्रयः, उक्तिः, देशः and ग्रहर्षः ।

Two of these, स्पृहा and परिवादन are found in Bhoja's list. Śāradātanaya's definitions of the Lakṣaṇas are most of them brief adaptations of Bharata's definitions.

Jayadeva's Candrāloka is the only work on poetics which treats of Lakṣaṇas along with such topics as Guṇa and Alaṅkāra. It is curious how Lakṣaṇa found its way into this work of later times, not dealing with dramaturgy. Jayadeva is aware of the topic of Lakṣaṇa but is not sure of its nature or place in Kāvya. Even among the Lakṣaṇas, he gives with definitions and illustrations, only a few. Mayūkha 3 of the Candrāloka gives the following Lakṣaṇas:—

अक्षरसंहतिः, शोभा, अभिमानः, हेतुः, प्रतिषेधः, निरुक्तम्, मिथ्याध्यवसायः, सिद्धिः, युक्तिः and कार्यम्—all of the Upajāti list. It is remarkable how Jayadeva missed the very first Lakṣaṇa called Bhū-



śaṇa and the No. 36 also and gives only 10. Jayadeva's definitions of these are concise and more definite than those in Bharata and when we read these together with their illustrations, we cannot miss the fact that it is not very far from Lakṣaṇa to Alaṅkāra. In the last verse he briefly indicates the nature of Lakṣaṇa and says that Lakṣaṇas like the above given ten, are many.

इत्यादिलक्षणं भूरि काव्यस्याहुर्महर्षयः ।

स्वर्णभ्राजिष्णुभास्तुत्वप्रभृतीव महीभुजः ॥

Just as kings well-versed in the art of रत्नपरीक्षा speak of भ्राजिष्णुत्व, भास्तुत्व and other Lakṣaṇas for gold, so also sages speak of many such Lakṣaṇas for Kāvya.

Again, if we go through the 5th Mayūkha and its list of Alaṅkāras, numbering hundred, we find there, besides दृष्टान्त, निदर्शना, संशय and other names, associated in Bharata with Lakṣaṇas, which must have very early passed into the fold of Alaṅkāra, some of the above given 10 themselves are counted as Alaṅkāras. Thus we have मिथ्याध्यवसितिः, युक्तिः, निरुक्तिः, प्रतिषेधः and हेतुः. Among these, the illustration for मिथ्याध्यवसिति alaṅkāra in the Kuvalayānanda is an adaptation of that given for the Lakṣaṇa of the same name. The same illustration—'ईदृशैश्चरितैर्जने सत्यं दोषाकरो भवान्'—is given for both निरुक्तिलक्षण and निरुक्त्यलंकार.

Śiṅga Bhūpāla also calls the Lakṣaṇa as Bhūṣaṇa. (Chap. 3, pp. 247—264. Triv. ed.) He considers them to be beautifying elements of the plot of the drama.

शरीरं वस्त्वलंकुर्यात् षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणैः स्फुटम् ।

He completely follows the Anuṣṭubh list with this minor difference that he calls लेश as लेख and gives the synonym मधुरभाषण for Bharata's प्रियं वचनम्. Śiṅga Bhūpāla takes Bharata's own definitions and compresses them in half verses. In some cases, as for instance in the definition of प्राप्ति, he is more definite than Bharata, by restricting a comprehensive idea to a particular case. His definitions of निदर्शनम्, विशेषणम्, पदोच्चयः, उल्लयतर्कः, तद्विपर्ययः, अतिशयः, गुणकीर्तनम् and माला are reproductions of Bharata's verses.

Viśvanātha, in Chapter six of his Śāhitya darpaṇa, treats of Lakṣaṇa. He gives the 36 of the Anuṣṭubh list with this difference that he gives Saṅkṣepa newly in the place of Kṣobha. Some of his definitions of these are succinct adaptations of Bharata's, while



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some are reproductions of those of Bharata. He points out their existence in dramas with illustrations. He realises the logic of the attitude of the Daśarūpaka but is more loyal to Bharata, for the sake of whose words he takes that there should be 36 Lakṣaṇas in dramas. He says in the end—

“एषु केषांचित् गुणालंकारभावसन्ध्यङ्गविशेषान्तर्भावेऽपि नाटके प्रयत्नतः कार्यत्वात् विशेषोक्तिः” ।

Besides these 36 Lakṣaṇas, Viśvanātha has another set of similar items which he calls Nāṭyālaṅkāra. They are 33 in number. When we go through this list we find that most of them are the Lakṣaṇas themselves of the Upajāti list. Thus we find here आशीः, आक्रन्दः, कपटः, क्षमा, पश्चात्तापः, उपपत्तिः, प्रोत्साहनः, अभिमानः, अनुवर्तनं, याच्ना, आख्यानं and युक्ति, 12 from the Upajāti list of Lakṣaṇas. While dealing with Lakṣaṇas in that same name he used the Anuṣṭubh list with a small difference. He left out क्षोभ and had in its place संक्षेप. The Kṣobha left out there has entered this list of 33 Nāṭyālaṅkāras. The remaining 20 of this list are not available anywhere in the Nāṭya Śāstra. Among those Lakṣaṇas of the Upajāti list which are not common to the Anuṣṭubh list also, there are yet गुणानुवादः, मिथ्याध्यवसायः, प्रतिषेधः, निर्भासनं, कार्यं, अनुनीतिः and परिदेवनं, seven, which are not taken at all. The first writer who is now known to have first introduced new Lakṣaṇas is Bhoja. In his list of 64 which contains all the 36 of the Anuṣṭubh list and a few of the Upajāti list, he introduced 12 new Lakṣaṇas, सृष्टा, परिवादनं, मृषोद्यमः, छलेक्तिः, काकुः, उन्मादः, परिहासः, विकृत्यनं, यदृच्छायोगः, वैषम्यं, प्रतिज्ञानं and प्रवृत्तिः. Of these 12, सृष्टा and परिवादः are the only two found in Śāradātanaya's list of 54. It is quite likely the text is not complete and Śāradātanaya who numbers Lakṣaṇas in the end as 64, took more of the above 12 of Bhoja. Viśvanātha follows Śāradātanaya and takes the following of Śāradātanaya's new Lakṣaṇas, उद्यमः, आश्रयः, सृष्टा, परिवादः, नीतिः, अर्थविशेषणं, परिहारः, निवेदनं and प्रहर्षः, numbering 9. The remaining eleven in the 20 are new additions made by Viśvanātha. They are गर्वः, उत्प्रासनं, आशंसा, अध्यवसायः, विसर्पः, उल्लेखः, उत्तेजनं, साहाय्यं, उत्कीर्तनं, प्रवर्तनं and उपदेशनम्. It is likely that some of these are really Śāradātanaya's, ten of whose 64 are now missing in the text.<sup>1</sup> Of these अध्यवसाय is said to be प्रतिज्ञानं by Viśvanātha.

1. Gaek. ed. pp. 223—226.



If so, it is not different from Bhoja's प्रतिज्ञानम्. उत्प्रासन which is explained as उपहास is the same as Bhoja's परिहासः उत्कीर्तन is unnecessary reduplication for it is described just as the other Nāṭyālaṅkāra called आख्यान, which is a Lakṣaṇa in Bharata's Upajāti list. There does not seem to be any distinction between उत्तेजनं and प्रोत्साहनम्. प्रवर्तन is nothing but Bhoja's प्रवृत्तिः. उपदेशन need not be a separate Nāṭyālaṅkāra, since he has already given a Lakṣaṇa called उपदिष्टम्.

Why is it that Viśvanātha made two separate topics as Lakṣaṇas and Nāṭyālaṅkāras and how? The material for him are the 2 sets of Lakṣaṇas in Bharata and those in Bhoja and Śāradātanaya. Viśvanātha took the Anuṣṭubh list to represent Lakṣaṇas and made out a 33 out of the Lakṣaṇas of the Upajāti list and of Śāradātanaya's list and called the latter Nāṭyālaṅkāra. Viśvanātha perhaps wanted to stick to the number '36' given in Bharata Śāradātanaya says at the end of his treatment of Lakṣaṇas—

चतुष्पष्टिरलंकाराः कथिता नाटकाश्रयाः ।

This use of the words 'Alaṅkāras of Nāṭaka' gave a convenient title under which, with a claim to be more neat and to have introduced a new item, Viśvanātha could put all the other Lakṣaṇas. As far as we can see now, Nāṭyālaṅkāra is first seen in Viśvanātha.<sup>1</sup> Jagaddhara who takes this name applies it to Lakṣaṇas themselves which will agree with what Śāradātanaya has actually said. Further Viśvanātha seems to have thought that he could easily interpret the word Alaṅkāra in the following verses of Bharata which he quotes here, as Nāṭyālaṅkāra, whereas, it refers only to figures of speech.

षट्त्रिंशलक्षणेपेतमलंकारोपशोभितम् ।

\* \* \* \* \*

मृदुशब्दाभिधानं च कविः कुर्यात्तु नाटकम् ॥

1. Mātrgupta seems to be the first to speak of the Nāṭyālaṅkāra. We see it mentioned in his definition of Nāṭaka, as also the Vibhūṣaṇa (i.e.) Lakṣaṇa, as quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Śākuntala.

प्रकृत्यवस्थासन्ध्यङ्गसन्ध्यन्तरविभूषणैः ।

नाट्यालंकरणैर्नानाभाषायुक्पात्रसञ्चयैः ।

नाटकं नाम तज्ज्ञेयं रूपकं नाट्यवेदिभिः ॥



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Viśvanātha realises also that Nāṭyālaṅkāra is not much different from Lakṣaṇa and that both again, to speak boldly are unnecessary, since they turn out to be either Bhāvas, Alaṅkāras or Sandhyaṅgas.

“एषां च लक्षणं (ण) नाट्यालंकाराणां सामान्यत एकरूपत्वेऽपि भेदेन व्यपदेशः गडुलिकाप्रवाहेण । एषु च केषांचित् गुणालंकारभावसन्ध्यङ्ग-विशेषान्तर्भावोऽपि नाटके प्रयत्नतः कर्तव्यत्वात् विशेषोक्तिः ।”

Talking of the function of Nāṭyālaṅkāra he says—‘नाट्यभूषणहेतवः’, which vague description is further argument for what we have said just above.

## IX-B

Taking Lakṣaṇa as a feature of drama only is a view narrower than the one attached to that word. Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Śiṅga-bhūpāla and Viśvanātha have narrowed it further by mentioning them only in Nāṭaka, the first and best form of drama. Coming to commentators on dramas, Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Śākuntala criticises Dhanika for the inclusion of the 36 Lakṣaṇas in Alaṅkāras and Bhāvas. He quotes the authority of the Abhinava Bhārati for proving the difference of Lakṣaṇa from these and promises to indicate the Lakṣaṇas in the Śākuntala in the course of his commentary. The list of 36 Lakṣaṇas is quoted by him from Māṭṛgupta. This long passage and discussion on Lakṣaṇa is found only in the Nirṇaya Sāgar edition of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary and of the Śākuntala. The edition of Mr. Kale, without any discussion at all, points out the first Lakṣaṇa called ‘Bhūṣaṇa’ as being present in the portion upto the verse of Act I ‘यदालके सूक्ष्मं’ etc. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa is not so enthusiastic over Lakṣaṇa as he goes further, for he points out only 9 of them in Act I, none in Act II, only 2 in Act III, none in Acts IV and V, only one in Act VI and only two in the last Act. These are the Lakṣaṇas he points out—भूषणं, अभिप्रायः, प्रसिद्धिः, निरुक्तं, पदोच्चयः, उदाहरणं, अनुक्तसिद्धिः, निदर्शनं, दृष्टं, माला, मनोरथः, हेतुः, अक्षरसङ्घातः and अनुनयः, numbering fourteen. The definitions he gives for some of these are from Śiṅgabhūpāla. These Lakṣaṇas he points out just in those places which Śiṅgabhūpāla himself has given as illustrations.

Jagaddhara in his ṭikā on the Mālatimādhava indicates 4 Lakṣaṇas in Act III and 2 in Act IV. He gives their definitions.



which resemble, but are not exactly those in Bharata. These 6 are पृच्छा, पश्चात्तापः, आख्यानं, निदर्शनं, माला and प्रसिद्धिः. These are from both the Anuṣṭubh and the Upajāti lists. He calls them as Nāṭyālankāra.

Rucipati, in his commentary on the Anargharāghava, points out 2 Lakṣaṇas in Act IV, calling them by the name Nāṭyālankāra. These 2 are अभिमान and छलोक्ति (p. 157 and p. 182, Nir. ed.). He also quotes definitions for these two under the name, Bharata. The definitions are not from Bharata. The second, छलोक्ति is no Lakṣaṇa in Bharata. Bhoja is the first to give it. Thus Rucipati follows some unknown writer who followed Bhoja but substituted the name Nāṭyālankāra for Lakṣaṇa.

Rājānaka Ratnākara, in his insatiable love for Śleṣa, introduces the Nāṭyaśāstra very often in his Haravijaya. In the penultimate verse (57) of Canto. XXI. he describes a Nāṭaka, through श्लिष्टोपमा where he mentions Lakṣaṇa.

इति रसपोषयुक्तिमदनुज्झितवृत्तिगुणव्यपाश्रयं

प्रथितशुभाङ्गलक्षणं अपूर्वकृतिप्रवणात्मतां दधत् ।

कविरिव नाटकम् ॥” K. M. ed. p 286.

Rājānaka Alaka says in his commentary here—

“अंगानि सन्धीनामवयवाः, ‘उपक्षेपः परिकरः \* \* \* परिभावना’ इत्यादयः[1] चतुष्पष्टिः(ः) लक्ष्याणि(1) (लक्षणानि) ‘विभूषणं चाक्षरसंहतिश्च \* \* \* गुणाभिमानोऽतिशयः सहेतुः’ इत्यादीनि षट्त्रिंशत् काव्यव्यवस्थास्थापकानि ।”

Ratnākara refers to Lakṣaṇas as a feature of the Nāṭaka. Alaka follows the Upajāti list. We cannot get much out of his vague explanation of the nature of Lakṣaṇas as काव्यव्यवस्थास्थापक; but we see that he followed Bharata and held them as features of Kāvya and not of Nāṭaka only.

### X

Now, coming to Bharata's own idea of Lakṣaṇa,—he says after treating of the metres—

‘काव्यबन्धास्तु कर्तव्याः षट्त्रिंशल्लक्षणविताः ।’

In the end he says ‘एतानि वा काव्यविभूषणानि’ and ‘काव्ये प्रयोज्यानि’. Again he says:

‘एभिरर्थक्रियापदैः कार्यं काव्यं तु लक्षणैः ।’



## THE CONCEPT OF LAKṢAṆA IN BHARATA 77

From these we are sure that Bharata, meant Lakṣaṇa as Abhinava and Tauta took it, to be a feature of Kāvya in general and not of drama only as all the above mentioned writers on dramaturgy took it. Bharata meant it to be on a par with Alaṅkāra and Guṇa as a feature of Kāvya in general and not as peculiar to dramas alone. The second idea that we cannot miss in Bharata is that Lakṣaṇas, though different from Alaṅkāras, are themselves also another species of beautifying factors. In this capacity they are called 'Vibhūṣaṇa'.

‘एतानि वा काव्यविभूषणानि ।’ ‘प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसंमितानि ।’

Bharata does not illustrate the 36 Lakṣaṇas, as he does the Alaṅkāras. Nor does he make any attempt to differentiate them from Alaṅkāras. He gives only three Arthālaṅkāras, Upamā, Rūpaka and Dīpaka. He indicates 5 sub-classes of Upamā. Bhaṭṭa Tauta has taken that the manifoldness of Alaṅkāra is achieved by combining Alaṅkāras with the Lakṣaṇas. As for instance, he says that the Upamā called प्रशंसोपमा is got by combining the Alaṅkāra Upamā with the Lakṣaṇa called गुणानुवादः; that अतिशयोक्त्यलंकार is got by combining उपमा and the Lakṣaṇa called अतिशय. Such ingenuity is all Tauta's own. Bharata does not indicate this. He simply says that he has pointed out five kinds of Upamā and that the intelligent must take other varieties from काव्य and लोक.

उपमाया बुधैरेते भेदा ज्ञेया समासतः ।

शेषा ये लक्षणैर्नोक्ताः ते ग्राह्याः काव्यलोकतः ॥

Nor in his definition of प्रशंसोपमा does Bharata indicate anything like what Tauta has said. Bharata really does not propose to himself the task of distinguishing the concept of Lakṣaṇa from Alaṅkāra. From what we see in this chapter, (i.e.) the 17th, in his time, the concept of Lakṣaṇa had much development, while that of Alaṅkāra was in its infancy. The fecundity of the latter that has produced a breed of more than a hundred Alaṅkāras is not seen in Bharata. But many of these later Alaṅkāras have their counterpart in Lakṣaṇas. The Lakṣaṇas had developed separately as adorning features, independently of Alaṅkāras, and in themselves they constitute a double personality. When we critically examine the 36 Lakṣaṇas, they fall into two classes. One class of them looks like Alaṅkāra, being mere turns of expression.



As a matter of fact, we have actually Lakṣaṇas with the names of some of the later Alāṅkāras themselves. As for example, संशयः (सन्देहः), दृष्टान्तः, निदर्शनं, निरुक्तं, अतिशयः, विशेषणं, अर्थापत्तिः and लेशः. There is also हेतु. It is another matter that the definitions of these are not exactly the same as in later Alāṅkāra works. Besides, the 2 Lakṣaṇas उदाहरणं and सारूप्यं involve उपमालंकार. The former looks like अर्थान्तरन्यासालंकार. The definition of तुल्यतर्क contains the mention of रूपक and उपमा as part of that Lakṣaṇa. In their definitions, विचार and तद्विपर्यय involve Sandeha and Ullekha. The definition of प्राप्ति makes it the काव्यलिङ्गालङ्कार.

दृष्ट्वावयवान् कांश्चिद्भावो यत्रानुमीयते ।

प्राप्तिं तामपि जानीयाद्लक्षणं नाटकाश्रयम् ॥

The Lakṣaṇa called अभिप्राय contains सादृश्यपरिकल्पनम्.

The Lakṣaṇa called लेश is quite different from the Alāṅkāra of that name. Leśāṅkāra is thus defined by Bhoja—

दोषस्य यो गुणीभावो दोषीभावो गुणस्य यः ।

स लेशः स्यात्ततो नान्या व्याजस्तुतिरपीष्यते ॥

The Lakṣaṇa called गुणातिपात corresponds to this. It is thus defined :

गुणाभिधानैर्विविधैर्विपरीतार्थयोजितैः ।

गुणातिपातो मधुरो निष्ठुरार्थो भवेदथ ॥

The Lakṣaṇa called लेश is said to be a clever speech suggesting through the mention of a similar thing—‘सदृशार्थविनिष्पन्नः’. The Lakṣaṇa, पदोच्चय involves the Alāṅkāra समुच्चय. The Lakṣaṇa called दृष्ट becomes दिष्ट in Bhoja, Sārādātānāya and Viśvanātha. As Bharata has described it, it is only स्वभावोक्त्यलङ्कार. The Lakṣaṇa called माला is an element which has been associated with many माला varieties of Alāṅkāras like मालारूपक etc. We can see the value of Bhaṭṭa Tauta's suggestion in such cases. The Lakṣaṇa called मनोरथ has in its definition the word ‘अन्यापदेश’ and is actually only अन्यापदेश of later literature i.e., अन्योक्ति.



## THE CONCEPT OF LAKṢAṆA IN BHARATA 79

हृदयार्थस्य वाक्यस्य गूढार्थस्य विभावकम् ।

अन्यापदेशैः कथनं मनोरथ इति स्मृतः ॥

(The Lakṣaṇa called क्षोभ is दोष in the definition.) प्रसिद्धि looks like उदात्तालङ्कार and प्रियं वचनं is nothing but प्रेयोऽलङ्कार or चादृ. Thus one class of the Lakṣaṇas are clearly Alaṅkāras or at least approximations to them or light shades of Alaṅkāras to be mixed with many a major Alaṅkāra. Abhinava realises this when he calls Lakṣaṇas as उक्तिवैचित्र्यरूप and अलङ्कारानुग्राहक. This class of Lakṣaṇas is really a supplementary list to the 3 Alaṅkāras of Bharata. The seeds of many of the later Alaṅkāras are available among these Lakṣaṇas. Leaving aside the stage represented by the Candrāloka in which Lakṣaṇas like मिथ्याध्यवसाय, युक्ति and प्रतिषेध have become Alaṅkāras, we can take that very early, some of the Lakṣaṇas passed into the fold of Alaṅkāra. Bhaṭṭa Tauta's view may suggest this historical fact. We have other clear evidences on this point. आशीः a Lakṣaṇa of the Upajāti list is an Alaṅkāra in Bhaṭṭi and we can see it in its transition from Lakṣaṇa to Alaṅkāra. Bhāmaha mentions indifferently that it is an Alaṅkāra according to some (III. 55). Similarly, हेतुः a Lakṣaṇa in both the lists of Bharata, can be seen in its stage of transition into Alaṅkāra in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Bhāmaha refuses to accept it as Alaṅkāra since it is devoid of Vakrokti (II. 86). Some pre-Bhāmaha writer must have made it an Alaṅkāra. Bhāmaha points out that only definite and remarkable turns of expression must be named Alaṅkāra. But soon, since it was the palmy days of Alaṅkāras when many things entered its fold, we find Daṇḍin asserting that हेतु is a great Alaṅkāra, 'उत्तमभूषण'. आशीः is an Alaṅkāra, firmly established, in Daṇḍin. But poor Hetu had a chequered career<sup>1</sup>. The name Nāṭyālaṅkāra seems to have helped some of the Lakṣaṇas to become Alaṅkāras. The evolution of Alaṅkāras from 3 in Bharata to what we have in Bhāmaha is an interesting study but the gap is all darkness. We feel that in that stage of the history of Alaṅkāra, the concept of Lakṣaṇa and the merging of most of it in Alaṅkāra is a big chapter.

But we must be clear as regards this point : in the first class of Lakṣaṇas which are mere turns of expressions there are various

1. Vide Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa and Mammaṭa.



grades. Certain are Alaṅkāras plainly; certain have an element of Alaṅkāra in them while certain are more than Alaṅkāra. The last mentioned cases are few but they indicate that Lakṣaṇa in Bharata is more comprehensive than Alaṅkāra. As for instance, the first Lakṣaṇa called 'Bhūṣaṇa' applies to a case which is specially decorated with profuse Alaṅkāras and Guṇas. It seems Bhūṣaṇa is a name for a चित्रकाव्य. Many others contain औपम्य only as a small element.

The other set of Lakṣaṇas show a different character. They are not 'उक्तिवैचित्र्यरूप'. उपदिष्टं, भ्रंशः, अनुनयः, दाक्षिण्यं, गर्हणं, पृच्छा, क्षोभः etc., belong to this class. The Upajāti list contains mostly Lakṣaṇas of this class, viz.) प्रोत्साहनं, आक्रन्दनं, आख्यानं, प्रतिषेधः, क्षमा, पश्चात्तपनं, अनुवृत्तिः, अनुनीतिः, परिदेवनं etc. Most of these are Bhāvas or actions resulting from certain Bhāvas. There is thus logic in the view which takes the Lakṣaṇas as minor Sandhyaṅgas. But this view cannot hold good to the other class of Alaṅkāra-like Lakṣaṇas. But, as a matter of fact, many of later Alaṅkāras also are only Bhāvas and need not have been introduced at all. So also, there are many Sandhyaṅgas and Vṛtṭyaṅgas which are either Bhāvas or only Alaṅkāras.

Bharata himself seems to be conscious of this double personality of his Lakṣaṇas when he says at the end of the section on Alaṅkāras—

एभिरर्थक्रियापेक्षैः कार्यं काव्यं तु लक्षणैः ।

Some Lakṣaṇas are अर्थपेक्ष. These are turns of expression those of the first class, related closely to Alaṅkāra. Others are क्रियापेक्ष. These are related to Bhāvas and form the second class. Thus the two main lines of thought in the दशपक्षी given in the Abhinava Bhāratī hold good as regards these two aspects of Lakṣaṇas respectively. There will be much 'Kleśa' to make all Lakṣaṇas look like turns of expression or factors of natural grace. So also to make all Lakṣaṇas look like सन्ध्यङ्गक or इतिवृत्तखण्डलक. Extremists with the aid of grammar, can however achieve their point. The Daśarūpaḥ realised these points and most logically included part of them in Alaṅkāras and part in Bhāvas.



## THE CONCEPT OF LAKṢAṆA IN BHARATA 81

Table of several lists of Lakṣanas.

Anuṣṭubh list of  
Bharata.Those of the  
Anuṣṭubh list  
found in the Upa-  
jāti list of Bhara-  
ta.New Lakṣanas of the Upajāti  
list, indicating within brack-  
ets how Abhinava includes  
in these, those of Anuṣṭubh  
list which are left out. Bh.=  
contained in Bhoja's list. Śā.  
= contained in Śārādātana-  
ya's list.

1. भूषणं ...	1. विभूषणं	4. अभिमानः (Bh.) (Śā.)
2. अक्षरसङ्घातः ...	2. अक्षरसंहितं	(सारूप्यं or सादृश्यं)
3. शोभा ...	3. शोभा	6. प्रोत्साहनं 'प्रियं वचनं' though
4. उदाहरणं ...	7. उदाहरणं	enumerated, it is not defined.
5. हेतुः ...	11. हेतुः	In its place, we have विशेष-
6. संशयः ...	24. संशयः	षणं of the Anuṣṭubh list defi-
7. दृष्टान्तः ...	22. दृष्टान्तः	ned (Bh.) (Śā.)
8. प्राप्तिः ...	29. प्राप्तिः	9. गुणानुवादः (Bh.) (Śā.)
9. अभिप्रायः (आ- शयः—Bhoja) ...		13. मिथ्याध्यवसायः (विचारः and विपर्ययः)
10. निदर्शनं ...		16. आक्रन्दः (Bh.) (Śā.)
11. निरुक्तं ...	8. निरुक्तं	(तुल्यतर्कः)
12. सिद्धिः ...	14. सिद्धिः	18. आख्यानं (Bh.) (गुणाख्यानं- Śā.)
13. विशेषणं ...		(प्रसिद्धिः)
14. गुणातिपातः ...		19. याच्ना (Bh.) (Śā.)
15. अतिशयः ...	10. अतिशयः	(दाक्षिण्यं)
16. तुल्यतर्कः ...		20. प्रतिषेधः (Bh.)
17. पदोच्चयः ...	15. पदोच्चयः	(लेशः)
18. दृष्टं (दिष्टं— Bhoja) ...		23. निर्भत्सनं, हासनं A.G. (Bh.)
19. उपदिष्टं ...		(माला)
20. विचारः ...		25. आशीः (Bh.) (Śā.)
21. तद्विपर्ययः ...		(निदर्शनं) deal with this.
22. अंशः (संभ्रमः Śā.)		27. कपटं A.G. does not (Bh.)
23. अनुनयः ...		(Śā.)
24. माला ...		28. क्षमा (Bh.) (Śā.)
25. दाक्षिण्यं ...		(विशेषणं)
26. गर्हणं ...		30. पश्चात्तपनं (Bh.) (Śā.)
27. अर्थापत्तिः ...		31. अर्थानुवृत्तिः, अनुवृत्तिः A.G
28. प्रसिद्धिः ...		(अनुनयः) (Bh.) (Śā.)
29. पृच्छा ...		32. उपपत्तिः (Bh.) (Śā.)
30. सारूप्यं ...	21. पृच्छा	(उपदिष्टं)
31. मनोरथः ...	12. सारूप्यं	33. युक्तिः (Bh.) (Śā.)
32. लेशः (लेखः— Śinga.)	17. मनोरथः	(अभिप्रायः)
		34. कार्यं (also called) गर्हणं A. G. (Bh.) (Śā.)



this responsible duty was discharged, whether the whole assembly sat, as the court of justice<sup>1</sup> or a smaller committee of it, how the trial was conducted and so on. I am aware that Mr. Venkayya speaks of a "committee for the supervision of justice" in connexion with the two well-known Uttaramallur inscriptions. But this rendering of the phrase "*dhanma-kṛtyam-kaḍaikkāṇum-vāriyaṭ*" is a little strained as its obvious meaning seems to be the committee for the supervision of charities. So it is highly dubious whether it was a specialised judicial institution.

Sometimes one comes across the word '*dhamnāsana*' in the Cōla records. It is indifferently translated as 'council of justice' or 'court of justice'<sup>1</sup>. Self-imposed fines for the obstruction of charities or for violation of agreements were paid to the *dhamnāsana*. To quote a passage from an inscription of Pārthivēndra-varman at Paḍi: "If this be violated we (the members of the assembly) agree to pay a penalty of one *kaḷañju* of gold to be credited to the *dhamnāsana*"<sup>2</sup>. Was it a distinctively constituted body? What was its relation to the village assembly? There is no authority to prove that it was a court apart from the assembly. There is not a single case on record as having been tried by this court. But, on the other hand, we are able to gather from a number of epigraphs that the assembly adjudicated upon actions brought before it. In one instance the Brahmins and *nāṭṭār* assembled and decided that the accused in a case of accidental homicide should provide for a perpetual lamp in the local temple in expiation of his crime; in another it was the *periyannāṭṭār* who formed the judges; in a third it was the *bhaṭṭas*; and in a fourth it was the people of several districts. Therefore it is evident that usually the judicial authority was exercised by the whole assembly and the *dhamnāsana* might have been the assembly in its judicial aspect. In this connexion it may be interesting to note that Aḍiyārkkunallār—in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram* uses the term '*dhamnāsanattār*' to designate the interpreters of *Dharmaśāstras*.<sup>3</sup> Further we have the authority of the ancient law-givers like Bṛhaspati and Nārada that *kula*, *śreṇi*, and *gaṇa* were invested with the power to decide law-suits.<sup>4</sup>

1. S. I. I. Vol. 3, pt. 3, Nos. 116 and 181.

2. *ibid.* 181.

3. *Śilappadikāram*, *Adaikkalakāṭhai*, commentary on 11, 54-75.

4. S. B. E. Vol. XXIII, pp. 6 and 281.



## ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CŌLA TIMES 85

Not even one of these precious documents throws any helpful light on the actual working of the *sabhās* as courts of law. It is here that contemporary literature enables the historian to fill in the details of the picture. Śēkṣilār<sup>1</sup> in his *Periyapurāṇam*, taking advantage of the episode of the quarrel between Lord Śiva and saint Sundara in the *Taṭullāṭṭkōṇḍa-purāṇam*, proceeds to describe the trial scene in all its details, thus incidentally giving us a glimpse into the manner in which the village assembly had gone about its judicial business. As Śēkṣilār was intimately associated with the Cōla administration in the capacity of a minister, his account is of great value.

Before giving here a translation of the relevant passages from the *Periyapurāṇam* it is necessary to sketch the events leading up to the trial of the case of Śiva *versus* Sundara. Sundara was born of Ādiśaivā Brahmin parents at Tirunāvalūr in Tirumunaippāḍināḍu and brought up by one Narasinga Munayadaraiyar, the lord of that country. In course of time Sundara attaining adolescence, it was arranged that he should marry the daughter of a Brahmin of Puttūr, a village near by. On the appointed day Sundara was taken to the bride's house and seated under the gaily decorated pavilion in the midst of the assembled guests. Just then, a Brahmin bent double with age and a furrowed face stood up and, to the confusion of all, peremptorily forbade the performance of the marriage, alleging that Sundara was his bond-slave. To prove his claim he also presented an old palm-leaf document of bondage purporting to have been executed by the grandfather of Sundara.<sup>2</sup> The suddenness with which this surprise was sprung upon Sundara upsetting him, he forcibly snatched the hapless document from the old man and tore it into pieces. The mysterious claimant raised a hue and cry; whereupon Sundara

1. The generally accepted view about the date of Śēkṣilār is the middle of the 12th century A. D. Against this Mr. Desikar in his booklet called "Iru Śaivaśikāmaṇikaḷ" holds that he lived in the reign of Gaṅgaikōṇḍān in the beginning of the 11th century. For our present purpose this difference of opinion does not much matter as we are concerned more with the Cōla period as a whole than with any individual reign.

2. In this act the God is violating an injunction of the *dharma-śāstras*. Bṛhaspati lays down the rule that the plaintiff 'is not permitted to put under restraint a person engaged in study, nor one about to marry.' S. B. E. Vol. XXIII, p. 288.



33. क्षोभः or दोषः	(अर्थापत्तिः)
34. गुणकीर्तनं ...	5. गुणकीर्तनं
35. अनुक्तसिद्धिः, or सिद्धिः ...	35. अनुनीतिः (Once more here प्रसिद्धिः)
36. प्रियं वक्तुं	21. प्रियं
	Total common
	with the Anuṣṭubh list—17
	36. परिदेवनं (क्षोभः and अनुक्तसिद्धिः)
	In the 26th, प्रियं he includes अज्ञः and गर्हणं.

New Lakṣaṇas of Bhoja. Śā. = contained in Śāradātanaya's list. Viś.  
= Viśvanātha.

1. सृष्टा (Śā) (Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
2. परिवादनं (Śā.)
3. मृषोद्यमः (उद्यमः) (Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
4. छलेक्तिः
5. काकुः
6. उन्मादः
7. परिहासः (उत्प्रासनं Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
8. विकथनं
9. यदृच्छायोगः
10. वैषम्यं
11. प्रतिज्ञानं (प्रतिज्ञाध्यवसायः) (Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)
12. प्रवृत्तिः (प्रवर्तनं Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viś.)

New Lakṣaṇas of Śāradātanaya. Nā. Viś. = Nāṭyālaṅkāra in Viśvanātha.

1. नयः (may be Anunaya of Bharata)
2. अभिज्ञानं
3. उद्देशः
4. नीतिः (Nā. A. Viś.)
5. अर्थविशेषणं (may be Bharata's विशेषणं) (Nā. A. Viś.)
6. निवेदनं (Nā. A. Viś.)
7. परिहारः
8. आश्रयः (Nā. A. Viś.)
9. उक्तिः
10. देशः
11. प्रहर्षः (Nā. A. Viś.)

New Nāṭyālaṅkāras of Viśvanātha, names which are not Lakṣaṇas in Bharata's Upajāti or Anuṣṭubh lists, or in those of Bhoja, and Śāradātanaya.

1. गर्वः
2. आशंसा
3. विसर्पः
4. उल्लेखः
5. उत्तेजनं
6. साहाय्यं
7. उक्तीर्तनं

Note. In Lakṣaṇas, Viśvanātha has a new one called संक्षेपः instead of क्षोभ of the Anuṣṭubh lists. This क्षोभ is made a Nāṭyālaṅkāra. Certain Lakṣaṇas of the Anuṣṭubh list themselves are made Nāṭyālaṅkāra with a slight change in name. ex. उपदिष्टलक्षणं and उपदेशनानाख्यालंकारः ।



# ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CŌLA TIMES AS SEEN IN THE PERIYAPURĀṆAM.

BY

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In the history of Indian administrative institutions, the autonomous village assembly under the Cōlas in the country of the Tamils forms an illuminating chapter of no small interest. Numerous lithic records and copper-plate grants of their times allude to these bodies under a variety of names, as the *sabhā* (assembly), the *mahāsabhā* (great assembly), the *peruṇ-kuripperumakkal* (assembly of the great distinguished), the *mūla-paruḍaiyar* (chief assembly), the *ūrār* (villagers), the *nagarattār*<sup>1</sup> (citizens), the *ālumgaṇattār* (governing assembly), etc., etc. A few of the inscriptions, like those of Uttaramallūr and Ukkal, Tennēri and Tirupārkaḍal, are, luckily, fuller in their details of the machinery of the village administration, the qualification of the members of the assembly and the scope of its jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> The popular organisation of the village and the freedom enjoyed by it in the conduct of internal affairs are in keeping with "the custom of Indian rulers to leave affairs as far as possible in the hands of local authorities"<sup>3</sup> and, therefore, in no way unique, though more perfectly developed in the South than elsewhere in India.

Of the many and varied functions of the local bodies, administration of justice in their respective limits was an important one. There is, indeed, no doubt that they exercised civil as well as magisterial powers. But it is not clear in what manner

1. The term '*nagarattār*' is usually rendered as a 'guild of merchants' as for *e.g.*, in Kacchippedu inscription in p. 268 of S. I. I. Vol. 3. pt. 3 though its plain meaning is 'townsmen' as distinguished from '*ūrār*' or villagers.

2. A. S. I. 1904-05, pp. 136-142; No. 6 of S. I. I. Vol. 3, pt. 1, 240 and 241 of 1922, and Nos. 99 and 156 of S. I. I. Vol. 3, pt. 3.

3. Hopkins in C. H. I. Vol. 1, p. 268.



suggested that they had better go before the assembly of Tiruvenṇeynallūr, the old man's native place, and represented the matter. Here begins Śēkkiār's description.

*The declaration: (Taṭuttāṭkoṇḍa-purāṇam.)*

V. 51. Having gone before the big assembly radiant with the best of Vedic scholars, the Brahmin said: "This Ārūrar of Nāvalūr after having torn the palm-leaf which I showed him to prove that he is my slave has now proceeded to you. This is my plaint."

V. 52. The great elders of the assembly remarked, "What did you say, Sir? Never in this wide, wide world are the Brahmins enslaved."<sup>1</sup> The Absolute One replied, "Is not my suit plausible? In fact, the palm-leaf he has torn was executed by his father's father."

*The answer of the defendant.*

V. 53. The great men of the assembly (turned to Ārūra) and said, "Because he has shown you the deed, willingly given by your ancestor, is it a triumph to snatch it and slit it? This ancient man has made his plaint properly: what are you going to say?"

V. 54. "O, thou who art learned in all Śāstras, you all know me as an Ādiśaiva. But if this Brahmin would assert that I am his slave, I confess, it is an illusion beyond my comprehension. I cannot understand this. What am I going to say?" So said the brooding youth.

*Deliberation regarding the onūs probandi.*

Verses 55 and 56. Nambi Ārūra having made his statement before the assembly, the Vedic Brahmins of unsullied character turned to the Great Ascetic of the Vedas, and said "You have to day claimed this man as your bondsman; you must prove it. Of the three kinds of evidence, viz., usage, documents and eye-witnesses, bring at least one."<sup>2</sup> To which the Master of Māyā

1. This objection of the assembly is borne out by Viṣṇu (S. B. E. Vol. VII, p. 37). He says, 'He who commits members of the Brāhmaṇa caste to slavery shall pay the highest amercement.'

2. "ஆட்சியில் ஆவணத்தில், அன்றி மற்றையவரார் தங்கள் காட்சியின் மூன்றில் ஒன்று காட்டுவாய்." (Periya-).

Brhaspati speaks of three kinds of evidence. 'It consists of witnesses, writings and inference.' S. B. E. XXIII. p. 297. Custom is defined by him as follows: 'Whatever is practised by a man proper or improper in accordance with local usage is termed caritra (custom)'. *ibid.* p. 7.



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replied, "The palm-leaf he has torn before in anger is only a true copy; the original is still with me. I can show it." "Then do show it here" demanded the great men of the assembly.

V. 57. "I will show it if you can guarantee its safety" said the Brahmin. "We shall see that no harm comes to it" assured the well-to-do Brahmins. The Saviour took the document to them.

*Examination of the document.*

V. 58. Seeing the palm-leaf in the hand of Nilakanṭha, the village accountant,<sup>1</sup> on the bidding of the assembly, received it with a respectful bow, uncoiled it and, observing its apparent antiquity, read it out to the clear-headed assembly (as follows).

V. 59. "This is the deed<sup>2</sup> of Ādiśaiva Ārūra, the Vedic Brahmin of Nāvalūr, willingly and knowingly executed (in favour of) the Great Pittan of Veṇṇeynallūr (to show) that I and my descendants, from generation to generation, are bound to serve him This is my hand."

V. 60. Having listened to it and after the subscribing witnesses<sup>3</sup> had scrutinized their signatures and agreed that they were unquestionably theirs, the unerring Brahmins told Nambi, "Sir, do look into this carefully and find if this is your grandfather's hand."

V. 61. The Brahmins thus directing Nambi, the All-giver who saves men unsolicited said, "Is he fit to examine this document? (Instead) if there be any other document in the hand of his

1. The office of accountant seems to be a fixture in every village and town assembly. Frequent references to him are found in the inscriptions. The following may be cited here :—

S. I. I. Vol. 1. No. 40. "இந்நககரத்து கரணத்தான்".

Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIV. p. 266. "இவ்வூர் மத்தியஸ்தன் கரணத்தான்".

S. I. I. Vol. 3. pt. 3. No. 130. "ஒரு நொந்தா விளக்கெரிய கரணிகரிடை வைத்த".

2. A deed of bondage is defined by Brhaspati as follows: "That document which a person, destitute of clothes and food, executes in a wilderness, stating, 'I will do your work' is termed a deed of bondage" *ibid.* p. 305.

3. "A subscribing witness" says Nārada, "is one by whom a document is attested." S. B. E. XXIII. p. 80.



father's father you will do well to compare the writing of this with that and give your finding."

V. 62. The assembled Brahmins, accordingly, called for another record in the hand of Nambi's grandfather, which was in safe-keeping, and compared it with the document (in question) and said, "The one resembles the other; no more can be done."

*The decision.*

V. 63. "O, Nambi Ārūra, you have lost your case: you are bound to serve this Ascetic, the Master of Four Vedas." So concluded the great men of distinguished character, "If this be your judgement" said Nambi, "is it possible for me to protest that I cannot abide by it?"

V. 64. The wealthy Brahmins turned to the Ascetic standing there and enquired, "Great Ascetic, in that document you are said to be a native of our proud village. If so please let us see your ancestral house and your estate."

V. 65. The meritorious Ascetic, who had won the strange case, said, "Follow me, if none of you can recognize me." So saying he marched into the sanctuary of the temple followed by Nambi and the great men of the village assembly, who were astonished to find the old man nowhere.



## THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

BY

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V

The Tamil *Kūḍal Purāṇam* begins with the usual Invocations, Benedictions, Apologies and Conspectuses and also Descriptions of the River, the Land and the City, but the only point in them all which is of interest to the historian is the mention of two outstanding figures of Vaiṣṇavism,—Rāmānuja the great philosopher, and the saint Śaṭha-kōpa who 'vanquished the Tamil Academy'.<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle embodies twelve Accounts<sup>2</sup> taken out of the Kṣētra Māhātmya Khāṇḍa of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, revealed once upon a time by Viṣṇu to Brahmā by whom it was revealed to Nārada who in turn revealed it to Vyāsa. It falls into four Sections, each dealing with the events of a yuga.

The first Section treats of the events of the Kṛta age,—how Vyāsa, questioned by ascetics about Madurai (Kūḍal), expatiated on its sanctity, how a temple of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna* type, built by Viśvakarmā and dedicated to Viṣṇu, stands at Madurai on the southern bank of the Kṛta-mālā (Vēgavatī), how Śiva, cursed by Dakṣa-Prajāpāti, had grown love-mad, having become enamoured of Pārvatī, how to obtain her Śiva stationed Himself to the north-east of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna* and engaged in severe austerities to earn the good-will of Viṣṇu, and how, moved thereto by Brahmā and other gods, Viṣṇu contrived to bring about the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī, how to the north-east of Viṣṇu's temple lies the Pool of the Seven Seas, so called because by bathing in it Mārkaṇḍēya obtained the merit of having bathed in all the seven seas, and how Kāśyapa and others obtained boons from Viṣṇu by bathing in another pool in the vicinity.

1. *Kaṭavuḷ Vaṇakkam*, 12-3.

2. Accounts 82-93.



The next Section tells of the Trēta age. The Viṣṇu of Kūḍal directed His devotee, the emperor Pṛthu, to worship Him at Kūḍal and at the Elephant Mount, and assured him of salvation, and brought relief to the sages of Naimiśāraṇya by killing an asura, Kālanēmi.

Events of the Dvāpara yuga are narrated in the next Section. Viṣṇu manifesting Himself as Yōga-Narasimha on the Elephant Mount, which lies to the north-east of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna*, killed Śiva who came against Him in the form of a Śarabha and, on being appeased by Prahlāda, withdrew into a cavern on the Mount.<sup>1</sup> Pulastya-ṛṣi having obtained the boon from Viṣṇu, this Yōga-Narasimha was born as son to the ṛṣi. King Ambariṣa coming to Madurai became devoted to the Viṣṇu of the *aṣṭāṅga-vimāna* and engaged himself in worship of Him for a hundred thousand years: Viṣṇu appearing before him at the close of the Dvāpara yuga and directing him to worship the Yōga-Narasimha of the Elephant Mount, the king obeyed the injunction dutifully and obtained salvation.

Then follow tales of the Kali yuga. They may be set out at greater length.

Candra had a son Budha who had a son Purūravas who assumed the role of emperor for the benefit of mankind. Ūrvaśī, a celestial nymph, having been guilty of a *faux pas* in Indra's assembly, was cursed by Indra to spend some time on the earth. The Viṣṇu of Kūḍal mitigated her distress by bringing Purūravas to her rescue. Purūravas and Ūrvaśī lived together in Madurai and obtained salvation by worshipping Viṣṇu.

Purūravas had a son Indradyumna, who had a son Malayadhvaja. This king, disciple of the sage Agastya, used to go daily to Mount Mēru, accompanied by his preceptor, and carve his royal seal thereon. He used also to journey daily to the mouth of the Ganges in a *vimāna* given him by Agastya and bathe at that holy spot. Being shown a pool at the foot of the Bull Mount as holy as the Ganges, he bathed ever afterwards in that pool and he spent the rest of his life worshipping the Viṣṇu of Kūḍal. Installing his son, Candrakētu, on the throne he retired from sovereignty, but some time later Candrakētu too retired, passing the sceptre on to Sōma-sundara, his son. Sōma-sundara performing austerities in the Bull Mount, Viṣṇu of Kūḍal

<sup>1</sup> *Attigiri-pādglam*, 17.



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appeared and ascertained that he was eager to have a son. Śiva of the Hālāsya kṣētra arriving just then, with Pārvaṭī, to obtain boons, Viṣṇu commanded Śiva to grant king Sōma-sundara the boon he craved for. At Śiva's behest Pārvaṭī was born, as Sōma-sundara's daughter, though with the peculiarity that she had a third breast. On Sōma-sundara's death the princess ascended the throne and started on a *digvijaya*. Vanquishing numerous kings she came to the north-east where she gave battle to a king of the name of Saumya-Pāṇḍya and worsted him. Her third breast vanishing at sight of this king she inferred that he was destined to be her husband and she married him. Out of gratitude, Śiva was installed on the Bull Mount, as a *kṣētra-pālaka*, to the left of Viṣṇu.

In the lineage of these kings came a king, Śrī-Vallabha, versed in all lores, attached to the learned and devoted to Viṣṇu. Going at dead of night in disguise on an inspection of the city of Madurai, and espying a Brāhmaṇa emerge from a temple, the king called on the Brāhmaṇa to render an account of himself. The Brāhmaṇa answering that he was Sōma-śarma of the Kauśika gōtra and that he was on a pilgrimage to sacred places, the king asked him to instruct him how to obtain the puruṣārthas: the pilgrim replied: 'What you want for the year, obtain it in eight months: what you want for the night, obtain it in the day-time: what you want for your old age, earn it in your youth: what you want for the life beyond, secure it in this.' When day dawned the king told his preceptor, Śelva Nambi, of what had happened overnight and desired him to teach him the puruṣārthas, and Śelva Nambi appealed in turn to the learned scholars who had accompanied him to the royal court. When each of them had expounded his view, a voice rose from on high and called on the king to hang aloft a purse weighty with gold and promised that it would go to him who was able to expound the truth to which the Vedas bore witness. Śelva Nambi fasted for three days beseeching enlightenment. Viṣṇu appearing to him in a dream and assuring him that He would have the puruṣārthas expounded by a devotee of His, the king put fourteen crores of gold into a purse and, invoking Viṣṇu to abide in it, offered worship to Him and also to Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and to the suras, the ṛṣis, the maruts, the vasus and the rudras, and prayed devoutly that success may attend the efforts to get the puruṣārthas expounded. To every quarter of the country he sent



emissaries to invite the learned to Madurai, solve the great question and win the purse. Scholars from far and near having assembled at Madurai, the king prostrated himself before them and beseeched them to study and determine the truth that is embodied in the Vedas. In the meanwhile, Viṣṇu of Kūḍal directed Garuḍa and Viṣvaksēna to go to Śrī-Villī-Puttūr and fetch a Brāhmaṇa of that place, Viṣṇu-citta, otherwise known as Periya-Ālvār, who was a great scholar, the chief of the Bhaṭṭas, and a staunch devotee who had dedicated himself to the service of making garlands for the Viṣṇu of Śrī-Villī-Puttūr and of tending a garden in which he raised the necessary flowers. They sought and obtained the permission of the Viṣṇu of that place and thereupon appeared to Viṣṇu-citta in a dream and acquainted him with their mission. Viṣṇu-citta going up to the temple the next morning and acquainting Viṣṇu with the dream, he was asked to proceed at once to Madurai with his disciples and dispel the doubts which vexed the king. Śelva Nambi too, who had journeyed in that direction with his attendants in search of one who would resolve the king's doubts, arrived at that moment and humbly entreated Viṣṇu-citta to proceed to Madurai. Escorted by Śelva Nambi, Viṣṇu-citta journeyed to Madurai where the king received him with all honours. Viṣṇu-citta with his disciples attended the huge concourse of learned scholars who had gathered at the king's behest and thereupon a prolonged discussion ensued in which the doctrines of Kaṇāda, Kapila, Patañjali and Buddha and the Naiyāyikas, Ārhatas, Cārvākas, Pāsupatas, Kāpālikas, and Śramaṇas and other sectaries were stated with great learning by the votaries of the respective schools. Each of them writing down his doctrine, they placed all the writings on the purse, but the writings fell off like withered leaves falling from a sapless tree. Thereupon Viṣṇu-citta set forth the doctrines of Vaiṣṇavism and established the paratva of Viṣṇu, and he put it down in writing that none but Viṣṇu was entitled to paratva and placed the writing on the purse. Śāradā appeared in the assembly, took the purse down and presented it to Viṣṇu-citta, and the gods showered flowers on him. The king, was transported with joy as his doubts had been resolved. Viṣṇu-citta was placed on an elephant and taken round the city with great eclat. The followers of the other persuasions, green with jealousy, stopped the triumphal procession and challenged Viṣṇu-citta to demonstrate to them the truth of his doctrine. Viṣṇu-citta sent up a prayer to Saundara-rāja, the Viṣṇu of Kūḍal, who



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responded promptly by manifesting himself in all his glory to all who had eyes to see. Beside himself with joy, the saint belauded Viṣṇu in moving hymns. The king heaped further treasures on the saint and worshipped him. Having won such great honours the saint took leave of the king and went back with his disciples to Śrī-Villī-Puttūr where he spent the rest of his life in devoted service to his Lord.

## VI

The three principal Chronicles relating the legends which have grown round Madurai have been summarised at some length in these pages in the belief that the summaries would bring out the nature of these Chronicles much more clearly and vividly than even a critical estimate of them. The legends are excellent evidence of the firm hold which the love for the miraculous has over the human mind and it is obvious that the chronicles are throughout pervaded by the spirit of the miracle-monger. On a perusal of these works the conviction grows on us that in their aims and methods the manufacturers of miracles do not differ much whether they ply their trade in south India or in other parts of the world. Their appeal is to faith, and the appeal is successful in the extent to which faith is permitted to overshadow reason. To the reader who would rely more on reason than on faith the legends appear to make such large demands on his credulity that to concede them would be to abandon reason once and for all. The determination to discover a miracle in the common-place, the preference for the marvellous over the probable, or even the possible, the presumption that the impossible is well within the ambit of the probable, the pathetic anxiety to make the improbable look wholly probable, the liability to slide from the probable to the puerile in the endeavour to lift the improbable into the region of the probable, the resort to the expedient of the *deus ex machina*, even where the trick would be out of place, the abrogation of the ordinary laws of nature, the inability to realise when one is overstepping the limits of reason,—indeed, the suspension of the faculty of reason,—the utter lack of not only a sense of proportion but also of a sense of humour,—these are but a few of the failings common to the artificers of miracles and religious legends all the world over. The Chronicles of Madurai are true to type and can therefore be of little use to the historian. In the texture of the



fancy of the chroniclers of these sacred miracles there is little of history, whether in the warp or in the woof.

These Chronicles would have been dismissed summarily by the historian as unworthy of serious consideration but for the attempt which they make to link legendary lore with genuine history. Some of the most famous names in Tamil literature,—Nak-Kīrar, Kabilar, Paraṇar, Rudra-janmaṇ, Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ, Iṟaiyaṇār, Jñāna-Sambandha, Māṇikya-Vācaka and Periya-Ālvār,—are prominently mentioned in them. An institution, the Tamil Academy, which is believed to have guided the growth of Tamil literature from its infancy, is made the theme of some of the miracles. A few of the great kings of the Tamil country,—Mūrti, Neḍu-Māraṇ, Varaguṇa and Sēramāṇ Perumāl,—are introduced into the tales narrated in these Chronicles. The chronology of these poets and potentates being still the theme of contention and the historicity of the Śaṅgam being itself the subject of some speculation, these chronicles have received attention wholly out of proportion to their intrinsic worth to the critical student of history. These have been so far subjected to no systematic scrutiny, and their testimony has been accepted or rejected on considerations by no means relevant to a critical appraisal of the evidence itself. It has been scarcely realised that the statements in the Chronicles cannot be relied on for purposes of history except in so far as the statements are shown to be founded on contemporary observation or well preserved testimony or carefully sifted tradition.

To set out the myths with some fulness is to lay bare the paucity of reliable tradition in these Chronicles: hence it is that in these pages the myths have been narrated at some length, and no comment on their character or credibility has been attempted. The tales are so mythical and so fanciful that what little of authentic tradition might have been available to the authors of these Chronicles has been overwhelmed by the mass of fiction and it is no longer possible to extricate the tradition from the fiction.

The methods of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi and the motifs which he utilises in his Chronicle have been already touched upon. The Chronicle of Param-jyōti is not different in essentials; the only feature of importance differentiating it from the other is that it presents the myths in an elaborate setting of chronology. The *Kūḍal Purāṇam* differs from both the



*Tiru-Vilaiyāḍal Purāṇams*: narrating as it does the myths that have clustered round the temple to Viṣṇu at Madurai, the chronicle is altogether different in substance. If the two *Tiru-Vilaiyāḍal Purāṇams* seek to explain place-names and weave tales round such places as Nāṇ-Māḍak-Kūḍal and Ālavāy, the *Kūḍal Purāṇam* does not lag behind: it explains names like the 'Pool of the Seven Seas' and throws the glamour of romance round the hills and the pools in the vicinity of Madurai. It is interesting to note the attempt in all the three Chronicles to wind fanciful tales round the Bull and the Elephant Mounts, and also the anxiety to make use of Malayadhvaja and Taṭātaka.

To compare and contrast the three Chronicles would be to undertake a task of no profit. We need merely endeavour to winnow the all too few grains from the enormous mass of chaff which shokes the three Chronicles. Even the traditions so extricated would be of no avail unless they are shown to be well authenticated. The history of these Chronicles and of the legends which they have brought together must therefore be traced before we could endeavour to utilise the few grains of genuine tradition we may succeed in picking.

The date of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's *Tiru-Vilaiyāḍal Purāṇam* is not easily fixed: the data are all too few. Considering that it narrates tales of Jñāna-Sambandha and Varaguṇa,—personages assigned generally to about 650 A. D. and 810 A. D.,<sup>1</sup>—we shall not be far wrong if we concluded that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work cannot be earlier than about 850 A.D. It has been said that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi must be earlier than about 1227-8 A. D.,<sup>2</sup> but no facts of probative value have been cited in support. An inscription in a village near the native place of the poet tells of a Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi who lived about 1304 A.D.<sup>3</sup> but no argument can be adduced in support of the suspicion that he is the poet of our quest unless it be the one of geographical proximity. Considering, however, the general course of Tamil literature, we may not be wrong if we decided that the work was not later than the Perum-Parrap-

1. Assuming that the Varaguṇa of the Chronicle was the earlier of the two of that name: see K. V. Subrahmanya-Aiyar in *EI.* xx. 49, 51; cf. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *PK.* 76-8.

2. MMU. V. Śāmināḍa-Aiyar in *PPPN.* *TVP.* Intr. 19.

3. *MER.* 133 of 1908, from Tirup-Puttūr (Tiruppattur Taluk). Pandit M. Raghava-Aiyangar is responsible for the suggestion.



Puliyūr Nambi of the inscription. But where shall we place the poet between 850 and 1304 A. D.?

In narrating the story of how Śēk-kiḷār came to write his great poem, the *Periya Purāṇam*,—the *Acta Sanctorum* of Tamil Śaivism,—a chronicler, Umāpati Śivācārya,<sup>1</sup> tells us that Śēk-kiḷār's patron, Anapāya-Cōla, was inordinately fond of Tirut-Takka Dēvar's *Jivaha-Sindāmaṇi*, a *kāvya* well known for the rather succulent account it gives of the amorous career of its hero, that Śēk-kiḷār sought to wean him from a study of the work, arguing that it was a false tale of the false Jainas and was not a tale of truth and that it would benefit him neither in this world nor in the next, that on being asked if there was any *Śiva carita* which would stand the reader in good stead in both the worlds Śēk-kiḷār narrated to him the tales of the great saints whose lives and sufferings are a source of inspiration, and that at the patron's behest Śēk-kiḷār chronicled the lives and those doings of the saints in his *Periya Purāṇam*.<sup>2</sup> It is fairly clear that Śēk-kiḷār wrote the *Periya Purāṇam* about 1133 A.D. The royal interrogatory propounded to Śēk-kiḷār whether there was any *kāvya* in Tamil which, unlike the false tale of the false Jainas, would profit him in both the worlds, seems clearly to imply that such works as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Skānda Purāṇa* were not then available in Tamil,—for there can be no doubt of their being works of the class to which the patron Cōla's question related. That such is the implication is obvious from the pointed comparison of Śēk-kiḷār's *Periya Purāṇam* with Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*.<sup>3</sup> We have now a few stanzas in Tamil which seem to be fragments of a *Rāmāyaṇa* and a *Mahābhārata* earlier in date than the *Periya Purāṇam*, but even before Śēk-kiḷār's days those works seem to have practically perished, only stray stanzas surviving. Kamban's great Tamil rendering of the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to have come about half a century after the *Periya Purāṇam*.<sup>4</sup> Kacciyappa Śivācārya's

1. He gives for himself a date, 1313 A.D. (*vide* his *Śaingarpa Nirāharaṇam*). Being less than two centuries removed from Śēk-kiḷār and being one of the four great *ācāryas* of Tamil Siddhānta Śaivism his testimony is as reliable as any we can now get.

2. *Śēk-kiḷār Purāṇam*, 19-35.

3. *ib.* 91.

4. Vidvan R. Raghava-Aiyangar in *ŚT.* (1905 A.M) III. 181.



version of the *Skānda Purāṇa* is much later.<sup>6</sup> It cannot be said that in Umāpati Śivācārya's story the salaciousness of the *Jīvaḥa-śindāmaṇi* is emphasised and that works like those of Kambaṇ and Kacciappa Śivācārya could not have been in the mind of Umāpati Śivācārya as they are not of a type which would appeal to a prince on the look out for salacity: according to Umāpati Śivācārya the patron accepted the *Periya Purāṇam* as a good substitute. These reasons apply with equal cogency to the date of the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* which must therefore be deemed to be later than the *Periya Purāṇam*. On the evidence now available it looks as if Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi must have written his *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* between about 1135 A.D. (the date of the *Periya Purāṇam*), and about 1304 A. D. (the date of the Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi of the inscription.)<sup>1</sup>

We may now turn to a consideration of the date of Param-jyōti and his *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam*. Param-jyōti was once thought to belong to the reign of 'Hari-Vira Pāṇḍya', in the Salivāhaṇ year 973 (A. D. 1051),<sup>2</sup> but we do not know of a Pāṇḍya of that time who bore a name in anywise similar to 'Hari-Vira'.<sup>3</sup> Of late it has been considered that Param-jyōti must be assigned to about 1650 A. D.,<sup>4</sup> but on no cogent reasoning, and there seem to be no reliable data pointing directly to a probable date.

The order in which the Sports have been marshalled by Param-jyōti is radically different from the one found in Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi's work: indeed, as has been already pointed out, Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi had no chronological scheme in his mind at all, whereas Param-jyōti presented the Sports in a strictly chronological sequence. Nothing is more

1. This para has been summarised from my forthcoming book, *South Indian Saivism: Mediaeval Period*.

2. H. H. Wilson in *JRAS.* (1836) iii. 203, n. 1. He has been followed by Simon Casie Chitty in his *Tamil Plutarch* (1859, Jaffna), 64, and by many others. The only source of Wilson's information seems to have been an English translation of Param-jyōti's work prepared for Col. Mackenzie. None of the editors of the Chronicle has noticed in it any statement about the date of its composition.

3. Even if we assume that 'Ati-Vira-Rāma' was intended, we are no better off, for he cannot be found anywhere near 1051 A. D.

4. Pandit N. Vēṅgaḍasāmi-Nāṭṭār, in his edn. of *PJ. TVP.* (1927), 12-3.



improbable than that the chronology of the Sports was already known when Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi wrote his Chronicle, for, however impatient he might have been of chronology he is not unlikely to have realised that a chronological sequence does serve to knit into a unity the *disjecta membra* of the various legends of the Lord's Sports and it is not likely that he was oblivious to the artistic disadvantage of telling the tales in the haphazard fashion of his Chronicle. It would be surprising if he had a chronological scheme before him and yet rejected it. That he did not set the legends down in chronological order proves that he must have written at a time when the sequence of the Sports had not been worked out.

The same conclusion is also arrived at on another line of reasoning. It has been already seen that in Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work a few hints are available to show the order in which he conceived the Sports to have been played. In an earlier section of this paper, these hints were gathered together and on a careful scrutiny of them an attempt was made to arrange thirty-five of the Sports in the order in which Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi might have presented them had he worried himself about their chronology. The sequence evolved from these hints is suggestive: thirty-five of the Sports fall into an order which approximates in some measure to the one adopted by Param-*vyōti*.<sup>1</sup>

The main differences may be noted. The legends of the humbling of Mount Mēru<sup>2</sup> and the Exposition of the Vēdas<sup>3</sup> do not follow closely on the legend of the defeat of Indra.<sup>4</sup> The legends of the Lord raising an army for His devotee<sup>5</sup> and of his serving water to thirsty soldiers<sup>6</sup> do not follow the legend of the abasement of Mount Mēru.<sup>7</sup> The legends of the Cōla being

#### 1. TABLE of chronological sequence.

PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.	PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.
1	1	Linga discovered.	64	16	Vedas expounded.
2	2	Elephant worships.	22	57	Rudra-Janman
53	3	City bounds determined.	15-20	51-6	Sangam Cycle.
3-11	4-12	Sundara Cycle.	37-8	62 4	Jñāna-sambandha
21	13	Ugra quell, the sea.	62		Cycle.
44	14	Indra defeated.	27-30	58-61	Mān kya-vācaka Cycle.
52	—	kāi and Nāri.	46	37	Chōa drowned.
47	49	Ālavāy.	18	40	Varaṇa obtains
61	15	Mēru humbled.		vision.	
			49	50	The Lord as archer.
2.	PPPN 61 : PJ 15.		3.	PPPN 64 : PJ 16.	
4.	PPPN 44 : PJ 14.		5.	PPPN 59 : PJ 30.	
6.	PPPN 43 : PJ 35.		7.	PPPN 61 : PJ 15.	



consigned to a watery grave,<sup>1</sup> Varaguṇa obtaining a vision of the Lord's world<sup>2</sup> and the Lord appearing as an archer<sup>3</sup> do not precede the legends of the Saṅgam cycle.<sup>4</sup> The legend of Rudra-Janman<sup>5</sup> precedes the other legends of the cycle.<sup>6</sup> The Sports of the Mānikya-vācaka cycle<sup>7</sup> come after those of the Jñāna-sambandha cycle.<sup>8</sup>

It is worth while, as the sequel will show, to examine what these differences may be due to. If another investigator sought to evolve a chronological sequence out of the hints let fall by Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi, might take a view of some of the hints different from the one we have adopted. We dissociated the myth about Mount Mēru<sup>9</sup> from that of Indra's defeat<sup>10</sup> for the reason that Perum-Paṇṇap-Puliyūr Nambi had assigned the former to the times of a descendant of Ugra; he might take it that the three gifts of the Lord to His son Ugra,<sup>11</sup>—the discus, the javelin and the club,—were gifts to Ugra alone and not to Ugra and his descendants, and that all the three miracles worked with those weapons,—the defeat of Indra,<sup>12</sup> the quelling the sea<sup>13</sup> and the striking down Mount Mēru,<sup>14</sup>—were the achievements of only one King, Ugra, and must therefore stand grouped together. We have had to assign to different periods the working of three Sports,—the victory over Indra,<sup>15</sup> the raising of an army for the Pāṇḍya<sup>16</sup> and the slaking of the thirst of soldiers fighting a battle,<sup>17</sup>—as we were not certain that the word *Vīra* in 'Vīra-Pāṇḍya' is used as a proper name in them all. Another investigator, however, might take the view that in all those legends the word has been used as a proper name and might therefore be inclined to bring the legends together as the events of one reign. We placed three other Sports,—the drowning of a Cōla,<sup>18</sup> the granting of a vision to Varaguṇa<sup>19</sup> and the Lord appearing as

- |                    |          |                    |           |
|--------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------|
| 1. PPPN 46 :       | PJ 37.   | 2. PPPN 48 :       | PJ 40.    |
| 3. PPPN 49 :       | PJ 50.   | 4. PPPN 22 :       | PJ 57.    |
| 5. PPPN 15-20 :    | PJ 51-6. | 6. PPPN 28-30 :    | PJ 58-61. |
| 7. PPPN 37-8, 62 : | PJ 62-4. | 8. PPPN 37-8, 62 : | PJ 62-4.  |
| 9. PPPN 61 :       | PJ 15.   | 10. PPPN 44 :      | PJ 14.    |
| 11. PPPN 11 :      | PJ 12.   | 12. PPPN 44 :      | PJ 14.    |
| 13. PPPN 25 :      | PJ 12.   | 14. PPPN 61 :      | PJ 15.    |
| 15. PPPN 44 :      | PJ 14.   | 16. LPPN 39 :      | PJ 30.    |
| 17. PPPN 43 :      | PJ 35.   | 18. PPPN 46 :      | PJ 37.    |
| 19. PPPN 48 :      | PJ 40.   |                    |           |



an archer,<sup>1</sup>—late in the scheme, on the ground of their being found assigned, directly or by implication, to the kali-yuga, but he might conclude that the references to the yuga are too vague and inconclusive,<sup>2</sup> that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's arrangement of the Sports in that part of his work is fairly chronological, by design or accident, and that the Sport of the drowning of the Cōla<sup>3</sup> may quite appropriately follow close on the Sport of the Lord serving water to the soldiers of the Pāṇḍya when fighting against those of the Cōla.<sup>4</sup> The tale in which Rudra-janman's birth is foreshadowed<sup>5</sup> contains not only a similar prophecy about Pārvaṭi being born as a fisherman's daughter but also an account of her marrying Śiva; it is possible therefore to hold that the legend need not necessarily be placed before the tale in which Rudra-janman takes his seat on the board of the Śaṅgam.<sup>6</sup> We placed the legends of the Jñāna-sambandha cycle<sup>7</sup> earlier than those of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle<sup>8</sup> on the ground that Māṇikya-vācaka's Pāṇḍya refers to Śirut-tonḍar who is considered to be a contemporary of Jñāna-sambandha. But another person might take into consideration the fact that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi makes the Lord metamorphose jackals into horses for the sake of Māṇikya-vācaka,<sup>9</sup> that a verse of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu,<sup>10</sup>—considered a contemporary of Jñāna-sambandha,—and numerous verses of Māṇikya-vācaka<sup>11</sup> seem to refer to the miracle, and might conclude that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi was guilty of an anachronism,—a belief for which ample support is to be found in his patent indifference to a time-scheme,—and that Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu, and with him Jñāna-sambandha, must be later than Māṇikya-vācaka.

If the chronological scheme which we had arrived at in an earlier section of this paper is amended so as to incorporate these

1. PPPN 49 : PJ 50.

2. See PPPN 46 (32). The word கைந்தன் in PPPN 49 (1, 23) need not necessarily and exclusively mean 'son' but may also include remoter descendants.

3. PPPN 46 : PJ 37.

4. PPPN 43 : PJ 35.

5. PPPN 22 : PJ 57.

6. PPPN 19 : PJ 55.

7. PPPN 37-8, 62 : PJ 62-4.

8. PPPN 27-30 : PJ 58-61.

9. PPPN 28 : PJ 59.

10. நரியைக் குதிரை செய்வானும்.....

11. See PPPN. TVP., notes by MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar.



variations to which another investigator might attach some value, the legends of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi fall into a sequence which corresponds very closely to the order adopted by Param-jyōti,—except for the legends of the Bhadra cycle and those in which no chronological clues are traceable. If it is assumed that Bhadra was a contemporary of Varaguṇa, then the sequence of the miracles will approximate even more closely to that of Param-jyōti. An author writing a few centuries ago might have had some evidence not available to us which connected Bhadra with Varaguṇa.<sup>1</sup>

Some facts emerge clearly from this discussion. Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi did not set out the legends in any rational order: from a study of his work a chronological scheme can be evolved for more than half the legends: the scheme so worked out tallies, more or less, with the one found embodied in Param-jyōti's Chronicle: Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi is not likely to have stuck to his inartistic arrangement of the legends had he had before him an arrangement of them similar to the one in Param-jyōti's Chronicle.

The conclusions seem to be obvious: the chronological scheme was later than the unsystematic and haphazard Chronicle of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi, and the sequence itself seems to have been deduced from a study of his work. If we are right in arriving at these conclusions, it looks as if Param-jyōti took Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work as the basis of his own but recast it so as to bring out the chronological sequence of the Sports.

This conclusion is clinched by a slight but conclusive piece of evidence. One would scarcely expect to find it in the

#### 1. AMENDED TABLE of chronological sequence.

PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.	PPPN.	PJ.	SPORT.
1	1	Līṅga discovered.	46	37	Cōla drowned.
2	2	Elephant worships.	48	40	Varaguṇa obtains vision.
53	3	City bounds determined.	54-7	41-4	Bhadra Cycle.
3-11	4-12	Sundara Cycle.	47	49	Ālavāy.
21	13	Ugra quells the sea.	49	50	The Lord as archer.
44	14	Indra defeated.	15-20	51-6	Sangam Cycle.
52	—	Kāri and Nāri.	22	57	.. (Rudrajanman).
61	15	Mēru humbled.	27-30	58-61	Mānikya-vācaka Cycle.
64	16	Vedas expounded.	37-8	62-4	Jñāna-sambandha Cycle.
39	30	The Lord as generalissimo.	62		
43	35	The Lord as water-carrier.			



list of Sports in which Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi has provided no chronological clues:<sup>1</sup> but, the list, contains a surprise to the student who scans it closely. We have seen that the legends with chronological clues fall into a sequence of their own, that the sequence is practically that of Param-jyōti's Chronicle, and that in Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work they are told in virtually the same order in which they are told in Param-jyōti's.<sup>2</sup> This phenomenon can be accounted for on only one of two conflicting hypotheses. The first hypothesis would be that Param-jyōti's Chronicle was the earlier, that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi picked out some of the legends from Param-jyōti's work and threw them about pell mell, but inserted in each of them a chronological hint or two of a dubious kind, in place of the very explicit chronological statements found in Param-jyōti's work, with a purpose which is unintelligible, and that from the rest of the legends he removed all traces of the time-sense and yet retained all those legends in their original order. No suggestion can be more fantastic : it has only to be stated to be laughed out. The other hypothesis would be that out of the mass of legends in Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work, Param-jyōti selected those in which time-hints were found and rearranged those legends in the sequence of time and that to maintain the total number of Sports at sixty-four he took the non-chronological legends in blocks,—practically as they appear in Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work,—and inserted them wherever he felt that they could be introduced and that to ensure an unbroken sequence he fashioned chronological links where they were wanting. On this hypothesis he had no need to disturb the order in which the chronologically unpromising myths were narrated by Perum-

1. PPPN., 12-4, 23-6, 31-6, 40-2, 45, 50, 58-9, 60, 63.

2. TABLE showing the order in which the Sports containing no chronological clues in PPPN. *TVP.* are narrated by PPPN and PJ.

PPPN.	PJ.	PPPN.	PJ.	PPPN.	PJ.
12	18-9	26	22	42	33
13	20	31	23	45	36
14	21	32	24	50	38
		33	25		
23	32	34	26	58	45
24	34	35	27	59	46
25	17	36	28-9	60	47
		40	31	63	8
		41	39		



Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi, and he had merely to shove them in as and when gaps had to be filled. This explanation is as simple as it is probable, and no other explains the close similarity in the order in which these non-chronological Sports are marshalled in both the Chronicles.

The various considerations which we have thus passed in review lead us to the two conclusions that no chronological scheme had been evolved for the Sports by the days Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi and that Param-jyōti is later than Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi.

The next problem is to determine the interval of time between these two chroniclers.

The unchronological order of Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi has been accepted and adopted in a number of other works,<sup>1</sup>—the Tamil version of the *Kadambavana Purāṇa* done by Vīmanāda-paṇḍidar, the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Bayahara Mālai* of Vīrabadra Kambar, and the *Tiru-Uṣāttāṇa Nāṇ-maṇi Mālai* of Paḷaṇiyappaṇ-Śērvai. The date of Paḷaṇiyappaṇ-Śērvai seems to be about 1600 A. D.<sup>2</sup> The inference might be that the influence of the Chronicle of Perum-Paṛṛap-Puliyūr Nambi is traceable down to about 1600 A. D., and that the chronological sequence of the Sports had not been worked out till then, were it not that the sequence is found in an earlier work, the *Maduraic-Śokkanādar Ulā* of Purāṇa Tirumalai-nādar,<sup>3</sup> a poet of the first quarter of the sixteenth century A. D.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the unchronological version

1. PPPN. *TVP.*<sup>2</sup>, Intr. 6-8.

2. *Ib.* Intr. 8, *n.*

3. MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar's edn. (1931), Pref. 7.

4. This work names two buildings at Madurai which, if we accept the testimony of a chronicle, the *Madurai Tiruppaṇi Mālai*, were erected in 1526 A. D. (*Ib.* Pref. 14): the poem would then be later than that year. The poet refers in it to king Vīra-Māraṇ of Madurai as his patron (*Ib.* Pref. 12-3). The inference would be justified that this Vīra-Māraṇ was king later than 1526 A. D. But we know of only two Vīra-Māraṇs of about this time,—the one who reigned from 1473 to 1506 A. D. (Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *PK.* 249) and the one who was on the throne in 1589 A. D. (*TrAS.* i. 115),—but neither of them can be taken to 1526 A. D. In another of the works of this author we are told that he started on it in 1507 A. D. (see MMU. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar's edn., Intr. 13): it becomes therefore probable that the poet belonged to the reign of the earlier king and composed this poem



persisted till about 1500 A. D., and the chronological version can be traced back as early as about 1506 A. D.<sup>1</sup> Are we to infer that Param-jyōti must have been earlier than 1506 A. D.?<sup>2</sup> We have no warrant for assuming that Tirumalai-nādar owed the time-scheme to Param-jyōti, and we have the statement of Param-jyōti himself that he was a mere translator who turned a Sanskrit chronicle into Tamil. So, whatever the date of Param-jyōti, we have to postulate a Chronicle with a chronological scheme before the year 1506 A. D. Probably the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* was that chronicle; no other work bears such close resemblance to Param-jyōti's work. As it must have preceded the *Ulā* of Tirumalai-nādar it could not have been later than 1500 A. D. From the fact that Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's work had a Sanskrit original, which must have been earlier, it cannot be inferred that the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* must also have preceded Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi, for, had the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* been current in his days that poet is likely to have preferred to translate it as it was more artistic than the *Sāra-samuccaya* which narrated the stories in a very haphazard fashion. Having placed Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi between 1135 and 1304 A. D., we might assign the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* to about 1400 A. D. The *Sāra-samuccaya* must have been followed by its translation by Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi, and the two must have been followed by the *Hālāsya Māhātmya*, which in turn must have been translated some time later by Param-jyōti.

How old is the *Sāra-samuccaya*? The work itself is not available to us and we can judge of it only from its Tamil version. As we do not even know of a work earlier than the *Sāra-samuccaya* that narrates all or most of the sixty-four Sports it becomes necessary to determine its date if we are to discover the period when the legends were gathered together into a Chronicle.

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earlier than the one on which he commenced work in 1508 A. D. Probably the buildings erected in 1526 A. D. had been already in existence and had already been known by those names when in 1529 they were rebuilt or repaired.

1. Even if the poet is assigned to the days of the later king, it will be seen that the composition of the poem lies still within the 16th century.

2. Or, 1589 A. D.



## THE MADURAI CHRONICLES

105

Before the compilation of the *Sāra-samuccaya*, which we assume to be the proto-type of the Chronicles relating to the Śiva temple at Madurai, the legends must have been distinct and independent, and must naturally have grown up at different times: so, a study of how and when each legend arose and grew will help us to decide how far these legends are reliable for historical purposes.

The Sports of these Chronicles have grown round the Lord of the famous temple at Madurai and purport to have been worked in Madurai itself or in its vicinity and in the reigns of various Pāṇḍya kings. Even the unchronological Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi makes it a point to mention in almost every legend that the Sport was enacted in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king. Indeed, one of the very earliest figures in the Chronicles is the Lord Himself, who, by His marriage with a Pāṇḍya princess, became king of Madurai, and from Him were descended all the later Pāṇḍya kings for whom He played His Sports. To trace the origins and the growth of these myths we shall have also to examine how old the temples to Śiva and Viṣṇu at Madurai are, when the earliest references to the miracles at Madurai occur and who the Pāṇḍyas are.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE PALLAVA GENEALOGY—AN ATTEMPT TO UNIFY THE PALLAVA PEDIGREES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS—BY REV. H. HERAS, S. J. Bombay—Indian Historical Research Institute—1931.

This work comprises three charts and about twenty pages of notes expounding the results of the learned author's researches into the some Pallava Inscriptions. The Summary method of exposition adopted imparts a more dogmatic tone to the arguments and conclusions than is perhaps intended by him; but the gain in brevity more than counterbalances this slight short coming.

Father Heras lays down at the outset seven 'principles of criticism' which he has followed, and if these are accepted his reconstruction of Pallava genealogy would follow more or less naturally. But some of these principles (5, 6 and 7) are just personal opinions which may not all command general assent without argument. Father Heras may be right in assuming that the Pallavas must have had some other capital before Kumāra-*viṣṇu* captured Kāñcī (principle 3) but the suggestion that this older capital was Daśanapura (p. 13) does not take sufficient notice of the claims of Palakkāḍa, Tāmbraḥa and Menmātura to the same honour. One should think that identity of names signified identity of persons indicated and Rev. Heras himself does this when he identifies Vijaya Buddhavarman and Buddhavarman (Note A), and Bappasvāmi with Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka (Note G), and Aśōkavarman of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates with the celebrated Mauryan Emperor (Note R); yet it is made a principle (No. 2) 'to pay attention to events rather than to names in order to identify kings of different inscriptions.' When the events chosen are of the order of marriages with nāga women, we get most surprising results like the identity Droṇa and Aśvatthāman with Cūtapallava and Vīrakūrca respectively. Great as is the value of mechanical aids to research like indexes, charts and alphabetical lists, they are not all. What is the value of the Rāyakōṭa plates to Pallava history? How far can we depend on the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates for events at the dawn of Pallava



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history? If we can use these, why ignore the Amarāvati pillar as Rev. Heras has done? And why is Aparājita not once mentioned in this book?

The point most fundamental to the scheme of Rev. Heras is his principle (No. 1) 'not to separate the kings of the Prākṛit records from the kings of the Sanskrit records, as has been done hitherto.' Dr. Venkataramanayya's statement that 'Sanskrit displaced Prākṛit within a short time of two generations' which is quoted in support of this 'principle' is quite different from Rev. Heras's view that 'such a short period...could not be but a period of transition, during which both languages Prākṛit and Sanskrit, were indiscriminately used.' Is there evidence of such a transitional period in the annals of any other dynasty? The attempt to make out a continuous line of twenty-four Pallava kings fails, moreover, to take account of the breaks which are clearly implied by the later Pallava charters themselves, and by the intervention of a Kaḷabhra period in the entire south sometime in the fifth or sixth century A. D.

Pallava genealogy is still therefore the same old puzzle it was; but we cannot sufficiently commend the orderly presentation of the sources that always characterises Rev. Heras's work.



## NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

### THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

1931. Vol. VII. No. 3. September.

1. *Uṣṇīṣa-śiraskatā (a Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa)* in the early Buddha images of India : Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M. A.

2. *The problem of the Mahānāṭaka* : Dr. S. K. De, M.A. A valuable and very big article arriving at these conclusions.

1. The Mahānāṭaka attributed to Hanumān approximates very closely to the *yātrā*.

2. Its origin is not connected to the 'Shadow-play'. Incidentally Dr. De rightly points out that the term '*Chāyā-Nāṭaka*' may not mean a shadow play but only an 'adapted-drama'. The character of Subhāṭa's Dūtāṅgada is also discussed in this connection.

3. It is a pseudo-play intended for some kind of performance and not a mere literary exercise as Dr. Keith opines.

Dr. De adds an appendix in which he edits a part of the text of the Mahānāṭaka, representing a simple version, from eight MSS. in the Dacca University Ms. Collection.

### JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY.

Vol. X. Part. II.

1. Dr. Sailesvar Sen continues his article on the Historical origin of the distinction between *Svārthānumāna* and *Parārthānumāna*.

### THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

1931. XVII. 2-3. June—September.

1. *Dravidic names for 'Palms'* : L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

2. Mr. Umeśa Miśra, M.A., edits Halāyudha's *Mīmāṃsā-Śāstra-Sarvasva*. This number contains the text up to part of Adhyāya 2 pāda 2 and the next number will continue the text further.



# NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS 109

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.  
Vol. V. Part 4. April 1931.

1. *The political history of the Kākātīyas* : M. Rama Rao,

M.A.

## THE EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

January 1929. Part 1.

1. *Three Tamil inscriptions of Lalgudi* : K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar. Continued and finished in the next number, April, Part II.

## QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Vol. XXII. No. 2. 1931. New Series.

1. *The Vivekasāra of Saṅkarānanda* : Dr. R. Sama Sastri. Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4.

2. *Linguistica* : L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar. M.A., B.L.

3. *Harṣavardhana in the Karṇāṭak* : B.A. Salatore, M. A. Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4.

4. *Date of Māṇikya-Vācaka* : T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L.

## THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

1931. Vol. LX. September and October.

1. *Lallāvākyaṇi* : Pandit Anand Kone, Srinagar, Kashmir.

2. *Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars* : Sir G. A. Grierson continued.

3. *Prāyaścitta or Hindu ideas on the Expiation of Sin* : Biren Bonnerjee.

4. Was the Kauṭaliya Artha Śāstra in prose or in verse ? Prof. Pran Nath. D. Sc. The author says :

1. The tradition of the Daṇḍanīti consisting of 1000 Ślokaś can be reconciled to the existing prose text of the Artha-Śāstra and that the explanation of Śloka as meaning 32 letters is not very satisfactory.

2. 28 instances there are of sentences which begin with a line or lines of the Anuṣṭubh metre. Many more are the instances which yield a verse form by adding or removing small words.

3. The best solution of the problem seems to be to assume that the original text was in verse and that the order of the sections was also slightly different.



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4. Where are the Sūtras mentioned in the last verse? The Cāṇakya Sūtrāṇi appended to the second edition of the Mysore text might have had a commentary now lost.

5. The original text was in verse, not in prose.

## REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

1931. Vol. II. No. 2.

1. *The problem of Value* : Dr. S. K. Maitra. Instalment II—'The psychological approach to the problem.'

2. *The problem of self consciousness* : A. C. Mukerji, M. A.

3. *The problem of Sensa* : Prof. D. G. Londhe.

4. *Mūlāvidyānirāsa or Śrī Śaṅkarakṛdaya* : A reply to Prof. K. S. Iyar by Y. Subrahmanya Sarma.

## THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY.

1931 January.

1. *Vedāntic Mysticism* : G. R. Malkani.

2. *Fact and thought of Fact* : K. C. Bhattacharya.

3. *Indra's Absolute Idealism* : Sītānāthdattva-Bhūṣaṇ : on the Śastraic exposition of the doctrine of incarnation in the story of Indra and Pratardana, contained in the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad.

4. *The modified nominalism of the Jaina* : Jadu Nath Sinha.

5. *A Neglected School of Vedānta (Vijñāna Bhikṣu's)* : U. C. Bhattacharya. Second instalment.

July.

1. *A note on the problem of self in Absolutism* : S. K. Das.

2. *Arc there many souls?* G. R. Malkani.

3. *The status of appearance in Śaṅkara's philosophy* : A. C. Mukerjee.

4. *The theory of illusion in Dvaita and its relation to other theories of illusion* : H. N. Raghavendracar.

5. *The nature of Pratyakṣa and Badātmake-Niṣedha according to Vedānta* : R. D. Desai.

6. *Epistemology of Śaṅkara* : Aśutosh Sastry.

## ŚEN-TAMIL.

1931 January—July.

1. *Puranānūṛṟukkurippu* : Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

2. *Nannūl Arāycci-Urai* :—*Eluttatikāram — Eluttiyal* : P. S. Vēdācalam Aiyar.



NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS 111

ŚEN-TAMIL-ŚELVI.

1931.<sup>3</sup> June—July.

*The four Saints, Appar, Sundarar, Sambandar and Māṇikya-vācakar and inscriptions:* C. M. Rāmacandra Chettiar, B. A., B. L.  
Continued in the next number.

August—September,

1. *Was Agastya an Ārya or a Tamil:* Vidwan Jñānaneya.



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अन  
वाव  
प्रति  
प्रति

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## THE MADHYAMAKĀVATĀRA OF CANDRAKĪRTI 41

ग्राह्यं विना ग्राहकतामपश्यन्  
विज्ञानमात्रं त्रिभवं परैति<sup>1</sup> ॥ ४५ ॥

विहारीति शब्दोऽयं प्रतिष्ठिते वर्तते । प्रज्ञायां विहारः प्रज्ञाविहारः ।  
सोऽस्यास्तीति प्रज्ञाविहारी । प्रज्ञाभावयिता उच्यते । स हि बोधिसत्त्व  
इति । अभिमुख्यां प्रतिष्ठितः । प्रतिबुद्धं दृष्टम् अवगतं तत्त्वम् अविपरीतम्  
अनध्यारोपितं येन सः प्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वः । विज्ञानमात्रं प्रतिबुद्धं तत्त्वम् इति  
वाक्यविग्रहः । रूपाभावाच्चित्तचैत्तानामपि प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नानां<sup>2</sup> वस्तुमात्रतया  
प्रतिबोधत्वात् विज्ञानमात्रप्रतिबुद्धतत्त्व इत्युच्यते । कथं पुनरयं विज्ञानमात्र-  
प्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वः । तस्मादेवमुक्तम् ।

(136,15) ग्राह्यं विना ग्राहकतामपश्यन्  
विज्ञानमात्रं त्रिभवं परैति ॥ इति ।

यस्मादयं बोधिसत्त्वः वक्ष्यमाणयुक्त्या चित्तग्राह्याभावादेव ग्राहकतां  
चापश्यन् त्रैधातुकमिदं विज्ञानमात्रमिति चिरमभ्यस्यति । कृत्वा च तदभ्यासम्  
अनभिलाष्यं वस्तुमात्रं स्वसंवित्त्या पश्यति । तस्मादनेन क्रमेण विज्ञानमात्र-  
प्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वो भवति ॥

(137,4) यद्येतद्विज्ञानमात्रमेव । कथं तर्ह्यत्र बाह्यार्थं विना तदा-  
कारकं विज्ञानमात्रमुत्पत्स्यते । आह ।

यथा तरङ्गा महतोऽम्बुराशेः  
समीरणप्रेरणयोद्भवन्ति ।

तथालयाख्यादपि सर्वबीजा-  
द्विज्ञानमात्रं भवति स्वशक्तेः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ४६ ॥

1. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. (L. V. P.)

2. Prof. Poussin's remarks:—वस्तुमात्र est une expression technique  
et je suis porté à comprendre 'hbyuñ-bahi' comme un absolu :  
चित्तचैत्तानामपि प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वे वस्तुमात्रतः (तत्त्वं) अवबुध्य ; Le रूप  
n'existe pas; la चित्तचैत्त est produit par les causes (परतन्त्र); il voit la  
réalité dans l'être pur, indicible, वस्तुमात्र, (qu'est le विज्ञान sans  
object et sujet)

3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. (L. V. P.)



यथा तरङ्गाधारभूतजलावयवसमीरणेन संक्षुभितादम्बुराशेः सुसतुल्या-  
स्तरङ्गाः समीरणमात्रप्रत्ययोपागमाल्लब्धात्मभावाः स्पर्धयेव सर्वतः परि-  
धावन्तो बुध्यन्ते । तथात्रापि विज्ञानेनानादिकालपरम्पराप्रवृत्तग्राह्यग्राहकामि-  
निवेशवासनापरिपाकात् आत्मनः सद्भावं<sup>1</sup> प्राप्य निरुद्धेनाहितो य आलयविज्ञाने  
वासनाविशेषः स्वाकारानुबन्धिविज्ञानान्तरोत्पत्तिहेतुभूतः क्रमेण स्वपरिपाक-  
प्रत्ययागमेन परिपाकं प्राप्नोति । तस्माद्यदुपजायते परतन्त्रमपरिशुद्धम् ।  
तत्रैव बाला ग्राह्यग्राहकविकल्पं परिकल्पयन्ति । न तु किञ्चिदपि विज्ञाना-  
तिरिक्तं ग्राह्यमस्ति । यथेश्वरादिकारणवादिनः

गोशब्दानां हि गौर्हेतुश्चन्द्रकान्तोऽम्भसामिव ।<sup>1</sup>

प्ररोहाणामिव प्लक्षः स हेतुः सर्वदेहिनाम्<sup>2</sup> ॥

इतीश्वरादीनेव जगत्कर्तृन् वदन्ति । तथालयविज्ञानवादिनोऽपि आलयविज्ञानं  
सकलभावोपलम्भबीजाश्रयत्वेन सर्वबीजं वदन्ति । अयमेव विशेषः यदीश्वरो  
नित्यः आलयविज्ञानमनित्यमिति ॥

(138,15) यस्मादियं प्रवचनस्य व्यवस्था प्रसिद्धा ।

संविद्यतेऽतः परतन्त्ररूपं

प्रज्ञप्तिसद्वस्तुनिबन्धनं यत् ।

बाह्यं विना ग्राह्यमुदेति सच्च

सर्वप्रपञ्चाविषयस्वरूपम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ४७ ॥

परतन्त्ररूपमिदमवश्यमभ्युपगन्तव्यम् । यस्मात्तदशेषकल्पनाजालाश्रय-  
मिष्यते । न हि रज्जुनिमित्तकः सर्पभ्रमस्तामनपेक्ष्य युज्यते । घटादिभ्रमो  
भूम्यादिनिमित्तको भूम्यादिमनपेक्ष्य नाकाशप्रदेशे उदेति । तथात्रापि बाह्यार्थं  
विना नीलादिकल्पना किञ्चिन्मिता स्यात् । अतः कल्पनाकारणमवश्यं परतन्त्र-

1. Tib. dños. po. yod. pa.

2. Compare तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहपञ्जिका P. 76.

ऊर्णनाभ इवांशूनां चन्द्रकान्त इवाम्भसाम् ।

प्ररोहाणामिव प्लक्षः स हेतुः सर्वजन्मिनाम् ॥

and Prajñāpradīpa (B. I) P. 19.

3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. On प्रज्ञप्तिसत् see मध्य० वृत्ति P. 28. n. 1.  
(L. V. P.)



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रूपमुपगन्तव्यम् । संक्लेशव्यवदानयोर्हेतुत्वात् । एवं च यत्र यदसत् तत्तेन  
शून्यमिति समनुदृष्टिः यदत्राधिकमवशिष्टं तदत्र सत्यमस्तीतीयं यथाभूतप्रज्ञा च  
हि शून्यतायामविपर्ययेनावतारः<sup>1</sup> इत्यादिना शून्यतापि सुगृहीता भवति ॥

तदपि<sup>2</sup> सर्वप्रपञ्चाविषयस्वरूपम् । अभिधानं तु प्रज्ञप्त्याकारग्रहणार्थम् ।  
यावदभिधानमस्ति । तावन्न वस्त्वभिधानम् ।

(139,19) तस्मात् संक्षेपतोऽत्र परतन्त्ररूपे त्रयं व्यवस्थाप्यते । ज्ञेयं  
विना स्ववासनात् एवोत्पत्तिः सत्त्वं प्रपञ्चाविषयत्वं चेति । प्रज्ञप्तिसद्वस्तु-  
निबन्धनता तु सत्त्वेनैव सिद्धा । इति न सा त्रयादतिरिक्ता । इति चेत् ।  
अत्रोच्यते ।

बाह्यं विना क यथास्ति चित्तं

इतीदमेव पुनः सम्यग्विचारणीयम् । आह ।

स्वप्ने यथा चेत्

अल्पे गृहेऽन्तःसुप्तो निद्राविपर्ययेण महामत्तहस्तिगणमन्तर्गृहं  
पश्यति । न कदाचिदयं विद्यते । तस्मात् बाह्यविषयं विनैव विज्ञान-  
मिदमवश्यमुपेयम् ॥

(140,11) अत्राप्यसारताप्रदर्शनायाह ।

इदमेव चिन्त्यम् ।

किं पुनस्तत् । आह ।

स्वप्नेऽपि मे नैव हि चित्तमस्ति

यदा तदा नास्ति निदर्शनं ते<sup>3</sup> ॥ ४८ ॥

मत्तपूर्णहस्तिगणाकारकं तत् ज्ञानं तु विषयवन्नास्त्यस्माकम् । अनुत्पन्न-  
त्वात् । असति च विज्ञाने उभयोः प्रसिद्धनिदर्शनाभावात् बाह्यं विना ज्ञानं नास्ति ॥

1. This seems to be an extract from some other work.

But compare शि० स० P. 357 L. 10: योनिशः प्रयुक्तो हि.....

बोधिसत्त्वो यदस्ति तदस्तीति प्रजानाति । यन्नास्ति तन्नास्तीति प्रजानाति ।

2. परतन्त्रम् ।

3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 23. (L. V. P.)



(141,1) अथ स्वप्ने भ्रान्तं विज्ञानं नास्ति । तदा विबुद्धः स्वप्नानुभवं न स्मरेत् इति । इदमपि न युज्यते । तथा हि ।

स्वप्नस्य बोधे स्मरणान्मनोऽस्ति  
यद्यस्ति बाह्यो विषयोऽपि तावत् ।

कस्मात् ।

यथा मया दृष्टमिति स्मृतिस्ते  
बाह्येऽपि तद्वत् स्मृतिसंभवोऽस्ति<sup>1</sup> ॥ ४९ ॥

यथा स्वप्नानुभवस्मरणान्चित्तमस्त्येव । तथा विषयानुभवस्मरणसत्त्वाच्च विषयोऽप्यस्ति । अथवा विज्ञानमपि नास्तीति निश्चेतव्यः ॥

(141,13) अत्राह । यदि महागजादिरूपमस्ति स्वप्ने । तद्गृहीतुं चक्षुर्विज्ञानमपि भवतु । तत्तु नास्ति । निद्राव्याकुलतया पञ्चविज्ञानसामग्र्य-संभवात् । तथा हि ।

चक्षुर्धियोऽसंभव एव मिद्धे  
नास्त्यस्ति वै मानसमेव चेतः ।  
तदाकृतौ बाह्यतया निवेशः  
स्वप्ने यथेहापि तथा मतं चेत्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ५० ॥

स्वप्ने चक्षुर्विज्ञानं सर्वथा नास्ति । तद्विना चक्षुरायतनग्राह्यं तन्महा-गजादिरूपं नास्ति । मनोविज्ञानं त्वस्ति । तस्मात् बाह्यं रूपमसदेव । विज्ञानाकारे बाह्यतयाभिनिवेशस्त्वविवादः । यथा स्वप्ने बाह्यं विना विज्ञानमात्र-मुदेति । तथेहापि स्यात् । इति चेत् ॥

(142,7) मैवम् । स्वप्ने मनोविज्ञानोद्भवासंभवात् । तथा हि ।

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.* fol. 24. (L. V. P.) the reading मिद्धे is adopted from the Tib. But the verse as cited in सुभा० reads सिद्धे ।



बाह्यो यथा ते विषयो न जातः  
स्वप्ने तथा नैव मनोऽपि जातम् ।

अतः

चक्षुश्च चक्षुर्विषयश्च तज्जं  
चित्तं च सर्वं त्रयमप्यलीकम्<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५१ ॥

यथा रूपदर्शने चक्षुरूपं मनश्चैतत्त्रयं संनिहितम् । तथा स्वप्नेऽपि विषयपरिच्छेदे त्रयं संभूय आलम्ब्यते । यथा तत्र चक्षुरूपोभयं नास्ति । तथा चक्षुर्विज्ञानमपि नास्ति ।

(142,19) यथैतानि त्रीणि तथा  
श्रोत्रादि शिष्टं त्रयमप्यजातम्,

श्रोत्रादीति । आदिना शब्दः श्रोत्रविज्ञानं यावन्मनो धर्मधातुर्मनोविज्ञानं च संशुद्ध्यन्ते । तस्मात् स्वप्ने एतत्त्रयं सर्वमलीकम् । अतः स्वप्ने मनोविज्ञान-मस्तीत्येतन्न युक्तम् ॥

(143,5) कश्चित्तु मन्यते मनोविज्ञानग्राह्यं धर्मायतनगतं रूपं स्वप्नेऽस्ति । अतो विज्ञानं विषयं विना न कचिदस्तीति । तदप्ययुक्तमेव । सर्वथा स्वप्ने त्रयासंभवात् ॥

(143,10) यदि परसमयप्रत्याख्यानाय तथोपगम्यते तदा स्वप्नदृष्टान्तो निरर्थक एव स्यात् । सोऽमृषार्थक एव दार्ष्टान्तिकवस्तुनस्तु । मृषार्थकत्वेन कथनासंभवात् ॥

(143,13) यस्मात् स्वप्ने त्रिकमप्यसत्यम् । तस्मात् प्रसिद्धद्वारा असिद्धसिद्धिसाधनाय प्रबोधेऽपि सर्वो धर्मो निःस्वभाव एव साध्यत इत्याह ।

स्वप्ने यथात्रापि तथा प्रबोधे ।

भावा मृषा सन्ति मनोऽस्ति तन्न

निर्गोचराक्षाण्यपि वै न सन्ति ॥ ५२ ॥

1. *Ibid.*



यथा स्वप्ने विषय इन्द्रियं विज्ञानं च मृषा । तथा प्रबोधेऽपीति ज्ञेयम् ।  
तस्मात् सुभाषितम् ।

यथा मायिकाः सत्त्वा उपलभ्यन्ते  
संदृश्या अपि तत्त्वतो न तथ्याः ।

मायाकाराः स्वप्नसमानाश्च  
तथा धर्मः सुगतेन देशितः<sup>1</sup> ॥ इति ।

तथा

सुपिनोपमा भगवगी (सकला)  
नेह कश्चि जायति न चो म्रियते ।  
नाम सत्त्वं लभ्यति न जीवु नरो  
इमि धर्म फेनकदलीसदृशाः ॥ <sup>2</sup>इत्यादि च ।

(144,12) अतो विबुद्धज्ञानमपेक्ष्य त्रिकमप्यजातमुक्तम् । स्वप्ने  
स्वप्नायमानज्ञानमपेक्ष्य तु

यथात्र यावत्खलु बुध्यमानो  
नाबोधि तावत्त्रयमस्ति तस्य ।

यथा सत्यामप्यज्ञाननिद्रायां तदतिरिक्तनिद्राविरहेण कस्यचित् विबुद्ध-  
स्याविद्यानिद्रया स्वप्नायमानत्वादुपलब्धं त्रिकं स्वात्मत्वेनाजातमप्यस्ति । तथा  
अनपगतनिद्राणां स्वप्नावस्थात अनुत्थितानामपि तथास्वभावकं त्रिकमस्ति ।

त्रिकं विबुद्धस्य च नास्ति मोह-  
निद्राविबोधात्किल तत्तथैव ॥ ५३ ॥

यथा विबुद्धस्य निद्राक्षयात्स्वप्नोपलब्धं त्रयं न विद्यते । तथोन्मूलिता-  
शेषाविद्यानिद्राणां साक्षात्कृतधर्मधातूनामपि न त्रिकमस्तीति बाह्यं विना  
न विज्ञानं विद्यते ॥

1. Not identified and rendered into prose.

2. Cited from समाधिराजसूत्र in म० वृत्ति. P. 109, L. 7, 549, L. 11.  
where it has न च in the place of नाम and न हि for नेह (L. V. P.).



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(145,10) अथ तैमिरिकेन अविद्यमानकेशाद्युपलम्भात् बाह्यं विनापि विज्ञानमस्तीति<sup>1</sup> चेत् । तदप्यनुपपन्नम् । कस्मात् ।

बुद्ध्या यया तैमिरिकेन्द्रिया यान्

पश्यन्ति केशान् तिमिरप्रभावात् ।

सत्यं द्विकं बुद्धिमपेक्ष्य तां च

व्यक्तार्थदृष्टेर्द्वयमप्यलीकम् ॥ ५४ ॥

स्वप्नतावत् द्रष्टव्यम् । तैमिरिकदर्शनमपेक्ष्य केशाकारः पुनरस्ति । अतैमिरिकदर्शनमपेक्ष्य तूभयमप्यजातमेव । विषयं विना ज्ञानस्य दुर्निश्चयत्वात् ॥

(146,1) एतद्वयवश्यमेष्टव्यम्<sup>2</sup> । मैवम् ।

ज्ञेयं विना वै यदि बुद्धिरस्ति

तत्केशदेशान्वितलोचनस्य ।

स्यात्केशधीस्तैमिरिकेतरस्य<sup>3</sup>

तथा न तस्मान्न च विद्यते तत् ॥ ५५ ॥

यदि तैमिरिकस्य केशान् विना केशाकारकं ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । यत्र देशे तैमिरिकः केशान् पश्यति<sup>4</sup> तत्र <sup>4</sup>समर्पितलोचनस्यातैमिरिकस्यापि <sup>5</sup>तत्सदृश-केशबुद्धिः भवेत् । विषयाभावस्य समानत्वात् । तस्माद्विषयं विना विज्ञानमुत्पद्यत इत्येतदयुक्तम् ॥

(146,12) अत्राह । भवेदेतदेवं यदि विषयसत्ता विज्ञानोत्पत्तिहेतुः । किं तर्हि । पूर्वमाहितविज्ञानवासनापाकापाकौ विज्ञानोत्पत्त्यनुत्पत्तिहेतू । तस्माद्यस्य केशाकारकविज्ञानान्तराहितवासनापरिपाकोऽस्ति । तस्यैव तदाकारकं

1. P. 145, L. 11. Read yod-pa-yin for yod-pa-ma-yin

2. तैमिरिकदर्शनमपेक्ष्य इति शेषः ।

3. Lit. अतैमिरिकस्य.

4. P. 146, L. 9. Read gtad-pahi.

5. P. 146, L. 9. Read de-daṅ-hdra-bar (L. V. P.).

6. 'न हि विषयसत्ता हेतुः' इति मध्ये योज्यम् ।



विज्ञानमुदेति । नान्यस्य । इति । एतदप्ययुक्तमित्याह ।

यस्मदपका खलु <sup>1</sup>पश्यतां धी-

शक्तिस्ततो नास्ति मतिश्च तेषाम् ।

न ज्ञेयसद्भावविलोपना चेत्

तच्छक्त्यभावान्न हि सिध्यतीदम् ॥ ५६ ॥

ज्ञेयसद्भावविलोपनं ज्ञेयासत्त्वमित्यर्थः । यदि शक्तिरिति <sup>2</sup>केवलमस्ति । तदा तत्पाकापाकयोः सतोर्विज्ञानोद्भवानुद्भवौ स्याताम् । <sup>3</sup>अत इदमसिद्धम् ॥

(147,7) कथं पुनः शक्तिर्नास्ति । आह ।

जातस्य शक्तेर्न हि संभवोऽस्ति

नाजातरूपस्य च शक्तिरस्ति ।

अत्रेयं परिकल्पिता शक्तिर्वर्तमानविज्ञानसम्बन्धिनी स्यादाहोषिवत् अतीतानागतविज्ञानसम्बन्धिनी वा । तत्र न तावज्जातस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तेः संभवोऽस्ति । यदा शक्तेरिति षष्ठी । तदा फलरूपं विज्ञानं हेतुतयाप्यस्तीति<sup>4</sup> युक्तं स्यात् । <sup>5</sup>यद्यस्ति । निर्हेतुकं फलं स्यात् । जाताङ्कुरोऽपि बीजो न नङ्क्ष्यात् । तस्माज्जातस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तिर्न संभवति । यदा तु शक्तेरिति पञ्चमी । तदा जातस्य विज्ञानस्य शक्तेरुद्भवो न युक्तः । विद्यमानत्वादिति पूर्वं प्रतिपादितम् । एवं तावज्जातस्य शक्तेर्न हि संभवोऽस्ति ।

(148,3) अजातस्वभावस्यापि विज्ञानस्य शक्तिर्नास्ति । यस्मात्

1. अतैमिरिकाणाम् इति शेषः । prof. L. V. Poussin suggests the reading 'mthoñ-ba-med-la = अपश्यतां (केशान्) i.e. अतैमिरिकाणाम् ।

2. P. 147, L. 4. If we read hḡah-shig (= किञ्चित्) for h̄bah-shig (= केवल) we get a better meaning.

3. 'न तु सास्ति' इति मध्ये योज्यम् ।

4. This is a kind of प्रसङ्ग. So the particle 'ma' (= नञ्) introduced in The Tib. text by Prof. L. V. Poussin seems unnecessary.

5. यदि विज्ञानं हेतुतयाप्यस्ति । फलरूपा शक्तिः निर्हेतुका स्यात् । स्वसमान-कालीनिविज्ञानस्य हेतुत्वासंभवात् इत्यर्थः । See here L. V. poussin's foot-note.



of Tolkāppiyānār to denote the subject of the verb as other technical expressions like *vērrumai*, *peyar*, *vinai*, *payanilai* to denote case, noun, verb and predicate respectively. If so *vērrumai-p-peyar* which means 'the *vērrumai* named *peyar*' may be taken as the subject and *eluvāy-tōṇru-nilai* as the predicate. In that case the meaning would be the nominative case is used to denote *eluvāy*.

Note 2.—Cēṇāvaraiyar on the other hand seems to think that this sūtra deals with the form of the noun in the nominative case. This does not seem to be sound for three reasons: (1) The meaning of the nominative case as *ceyvatū* or doer should be mentioned in this chapter since mention is made of it in the sūtra

*Vinai-y-ē ceyvatū ceya-p-paṭu poruḷē*  
*Nilai-ē kūlaṇ karuvi y-enrā*  
*Inṇatar k-itu-payan-āka v-ennum*  
*Anṇa maraṇi n-iraṇṭotu-n tokai*  
*Ā-y-eṭ t-enṇa toḷin-muta nilai-y ē.*

(Tol. Col. 112.)

as one of the eight requisites for an action to take place. (2) The sūtras 71, 73 etc. deal directly with the meaning of the accusative case, the instrumental etc. (3) That there is no suffix for the nominative case is easily inferred from the two sūtras Tol. Col. 64 and Tol. Elut. 114 which respectively deal with the names of cases and the case-suffixes.

66. பொருண்மை சுட்டல் வியங்கொள வருதல்  
 வினைநிலை யுரைத்தல் வினாவிற் கேற்றல்  
 பண்புகொள வருதல் பெயர்கொள வருதலென்று  
 அன்றி யனைத்தும் பெயர்ப்பய னிலையே.  
*Poruṇmai cuṭṭal viyaṇ-koḷa varutal*  
*Vinai-nilai y-uraittal viṇā-v-ir k-ērral*  
*Paṇbu-koḷa varutal peyar-koḷa varutal-enrū*  
*Anṇi y-anaittum peyar-p-paya nilai-y-ē.*

The predicate to a subject may denote one of the following:—the existence of the subject, the wish or order of another relating to the subject, the kind of action of the subject, question relating to the subject, the quality of the subject, and the number class, order etc. of the subject.

Ex. *Poruṇmai-cuṭṭal*:—

...Curattum

G



Tām-ē cellum tāyar-um uḷar-ē. (Tol. Poruḷ. 40.)

(There are mothers who themselves go to the desert.)

*Viṇai-koḷa-varutal.*

Ḷāṭuka v-iraiva-niṇ kaṇṇi y-onṇār

Nāṭu-cuṭu kamaḷ-pukai y-eṇṇitta l-āṇ-ē. (Pura. 3, 21, 22.)

(Oh king, let your garland fade on account of the fire with fragrant smoke burning the enemies' country.)

*Viṇai-nilai-y-urattal.*

Tāyi rūvā-k kuḷavi pōla

Ōvātu kūn-niṇ n-uṭarriyōr nāṭē. (Pura. 4, 18, 19.)

(Your enemies' country cries un-interruptedly like children devoid of mothers.)

*Viṇā-v-iṇ-k-ēṇṇal.*

Entai yāṇṭ-uḷan kol? (Pura. 135, 16.)

(Where is my lord?)

Ivar yār? (Pura. 201.)

(Who are these?)

*Paṇṇu-koḷa-varutal.*

Avar-ē.....Kaṇṇu-k-k-iṇiyar. (Pura. 167.)

(But they are beautiful to look at.)

*Peyar-koḷa-varutal.*

Yāṇ-ē tantai-tōlan. (Pura. 201.)

(I am (their) father's friend.)

*Note 1.*—This sūtra deals with the classification of the *payanilai* or predicate in a sentence. Is Tolkāppiyāṇār justified in dealing with the classification of *payanilai* without giving out its meaning? It is one of the technical terms used by his ancients which he has made use of. In such cases he does not give the definition. Cf. *vērrumai*, *viṇai* etc. Besides, the previous sūtra deals with *eluvāy* or the meaning of the first case. *Eluvāy* cannot exist without a predicate. Hence Tolkāppiyāṇār has dealt with the classification of *payanilai* here.

*Note 2.*—Almost all the commentators think that this sūtra and the previous one suggest that the definition of *peyar* or noun is that which is capable of taking case-suffixes or being followed by a predicate. This is open to one objection. If *urupēṇṇal* or the taking of case-suffixes is a definition to *peyar*, the flaw of *anyōnyāśraya* or inter-dependence comes in:—A word becomes a noun if it is capable of taking case-suffixes and case-suffixes are suffixed only to nouns:—Hence it may be said that according to



Tolkāppiyāṇār, *peyar* or noun is that which denotes a *poruḷ* or object. This is evident from the designation *peyar* given to the noun. He suggests this in the sūtra

*Ellā-c col-l-um poruḷ kurittana-v-ē.* (Tol. Col. 155.)

The commentators may have taken *urupērral* as a definition of *peyar* on the model of Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini who take *subāntam* as the definition of noun. The flaw mentioned above does not arise in Sanskrit since the case-suffixes are added there to the *prātipadika* (the base of a noun as *dēva*) and not to nouns. Tolkāppiyāṇār may be said to agree with the definition given to noun in R. V. Prātiśākhya—‘*Dravyābhīdhāyakam nāma*’.

Note 3.—Cēṇāvaraiyar says that, in the sentence *ā pala* (cows are many), *pala* is in the nominative case, though it is not followed by a predicate; for it is capable of being followed by a predicate in other sentences like *pala uḷa* (there are many). According to other commentators, it cannot be taken so since it is not followed by a predicate and since they take the previous sūtra to mean that the noun in the nominative case is followed by a predicate.

Note 4.—Though the purpose served by the expression *peyar-kōḷa-varutal* in the sūtra may be said to be served by any one of the remaining five mentioned :—*poruṇmai-cuṭṭal*, *viyaṅ-kōḷa-varutal*, *vinai-nilai-y-uraittal*, *vinā-v-ir-k-ērral* and *paṇṇu-kōḷa-varutal*, yet Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to have mentioned it to show that words which are nouns in form and are used as logical predicates may be taken as predicates in grammar also.

67. பெயரி னுகிய தொகையுமா ருளவே

அவ்வு முரிய வப்பா லான.

*Peyar-i n-ākiya tokai-yu-m-ā r-uḷa-v-ē*

*A-v-v-u m-uriya v-a-p-pā l-āṇa.*

There are also compounds made up of nouns which, when they take predicates after them, are in the same category (i.e.) they stand in the nominative case.

Ex. *Paḷa-mutir-cōlai-malai-kilavōṇ peral-arum-paricil-nal-kumati.* (Tirumuru. 317, 295.)

([God Murukan] the owner of the hill named *Paḷamutir-cōlai* will give (you) a reward which is very rare to get.)

Note 1.—The expression ‘*peyarin-ākiya-tokai*’ does not only mean compounds all of whose members are nouns, but also



compounds like *kol-kalirū* (elephant that killed, kills or will kill) whose final members are nouns. *A-p-pāl-āṇ-a* literally means 'in that case'. Hence it means here 'when they take *payanilai* after them'.

*Note 2.*—Though it appears that there are two sentences '*peyarin-ākiya tokai-y-um uḷa*' and '*a-v-v-um uriya a-p-pāl-āṇa*' in the sūtra, yet it is really one sentence. The prose order is *a-p-pāl-āṇa* (those that stand in that category), *a-v-v-um uriya* (those that deserve it (i.e.) those that can stand in the nominative case), *peyarin-ākiya tokaiyum* (the compounds made up of nouns also), *uḷa* (are). *A-p-pāl-āṇa* and *a-v-v-um uriya* stand in adjectival relation to *peyarin-ākiya tokai*. *Um* after *tokai* is *ecca-v-ummai*. It suggests that not only *peyar* mentioned in sūtra 65 can stand in the nominative case, but also compounds.

*Note 3.*—Iḷampūraṇar says that, in the opinion of some, the word '*um*' suggests that there are compounds made up of verbs and nouns like *kol-kalirū*. But since the expression *peyarin-ākiya tokai* itself may be construed as compounds with nouns as their final member, it is better for '*um*' to connect *peyarin-ākiya tokai* with *peyar* as is mentioned above.

Cēṇavaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, on the other hand, take '*um*' to suggest that there are compounds made up of nouns and verbs. The reason for saying so is that they take the expressions like *nilaṇ-kaṭantāṇ* (he passed through the land) as a compound word and they have no authority to take so in any sūtra of Tolkāppiyam. This seems to me very unnatural for two reasons:—(1) The context is not suited to it. (2) The sūtra will have to be split into two:—*peyarin-ākiya tokai-y-um-ār uḷavē* and *a-v-v-um uriya a-p-pāl-āṇa* and the former part should be taken to mean 'there are compounds made up of nouns' and to suggest 'there are compounds made up of nouns and verbs', and the latter part 'they may be in the nominative case and take predicates after them'. Besides the suggested meaning of the former part has to be left out of consideration here. That it is not necessary to take *nilaṇ-kaṭantāṇ* as a compound word will be dealt with in detail under the sūtra

*Ellā-t- tokai-y-u m-oru-con vaṭaiya.*

(Tol. Col. 420.)

*Note 4.*—Cēṇavaraiyar states that Iḷampūraṇar has said that there are compounds like *kol-kalirū* made up of verbs and nouns



and condemns that he is wrong in having said so. Both of them agree that expressions like *kol-kalirū* are *vinai-t-tokai* and may stand in the nominative case; but they differ as regards the part *kol*. Iḷampūraṇar takes it to be the curtailed form of the relative participle *konra* or *kollum*, while Cēṇāvaraiyar takes it as *dhātu* or root and mentions that the compounds like *kol-kalirū* are *nityasamāsa* or unsplittable compounds. Iḷampūraṇar's opinion seems to be better in consideration of the expression *kālattiyaḷum* in the sūtra

*Vinaiyiṇ rokuti kālat t-iyalum.*

(Tol. Col. 415).

Note 5.—Cēṇāvaraiyar says that according to Iḷampūraṇar, this sūtra sanctions that the compounds may take predicates and the sūtra '*Ellā-t tokaiyu m-oru-con nātaiya*' (Tol. Col. 420.) sanctions that they may be used in the nominative case, and he is wrong in having said so. On careful examination of his commentary on the two sūtras, Iḷampūraṇar does not seem to have had that opinion.

68. எவ்வயிற் பெயரும் வெளிப்படத் தோன்றி  
அவ்விய னிலையல் செவ்வி தென்ப.  
*E-v-vayir peyar-um velippaṭa-t tōṇri*  
*A-v-v-ya nilaiyal cevvi t-enṇa.*

It is said that it is advisable for every noun to be mentioned explicitly in such places (*i.e.*) when they take predicates after them.

Ex. (Ni) niṇ-cor-peyaral. (Pura. 3.)  
(You should not break your word.)

Note 1.—The word '*cevvitū*' in the sūtra suggests that there may be expressions where the subject is not used. For instance verbs in the second, and the first, person are generally used without their subject.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar gives a different meaning to the sūtra :—the words mostly assume when they take case-suffixes the same form as the one they take in the nominative case. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have given the meaning mentioned above. Naccinārkkiniyar gives both. The interpretation of Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be suitable to the context.

69. கூறிய முறையி னுருபிலை திரியாது  
நுபெயர்க் காரு மியற்கைய வென்ப.



*Kūriya murai-y-i u-urupu-nilai tiriyāti*  
*Īru-peyar-k k-āku m-iyarkaiya v-enpa.*

The case-suffixes mentioned above (in Tol. Elut. 114) are suffixed without any modification in form to the nouns.

Note 1.—All the four commentators give the same meaning as is mentioned above. But Īlampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār differ in their opinion regarding the purpose served by the expression 'ilai tiriyāti' in the sūtra. Nacci-nārkkiniyar agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar. Īlampūraṇar says that, since it is mentioned in the sūtra

*Avaitām,*

*Munnum piṇṇu molī-y-aṭuttu varutalum*

*Tam-mīru tiritalum.....*

(Tol. Col. 251.)

that *iṭai-c-col* will undergo modification in form, it is stated here that case-suffixes though they are *iṭai-c-col*, do not undergo modification. Cēṇāvaraiyar thinks that the case-suffixes do not become part and parcel of nouns as verbal terminations. Teyvaccilaiyār states that it suggests that nouns in Tamil do not undergo any modification in form when they take case-suffixes as nouns in Sanskrit. Īlampūraṇar's opinion seems to be correct.

Note 2.—What is the purpose served by this sūtra? It is this sūtra that explicitly states that the case-suffixes in Tamil are suffixed to nouns. The need for this sūtra will be highly appreciated if we note that there are languages in the world which have infixes etc. to denote the case relation.

Note 3.—Cēṇāvaraiyar thinks that this sūtra suggests that *urupērral* comes under the definition of a noun. That it does not appear to be so has already been pointed out.

70. பெயர்நிலைக் கிளவி காலந் தோன்ற  
 தொழினிலை யொட்டு மொன்றலங் கடையே.

*Peyar-nilai-k kiṭavi kālan tōṇṇā*

*Tolīnilai y-oṭṭu m-onr-alan kaṭai-y-ē.*

Nouns except a class of *tolir-peyar* or verbal nouns do not denote time.

*Cel-virun t-ōmpi varu-viruntu-pārttiruppān,*  
*Nal-viruntu vāṇat t-avarkkū. (Kuraḷ, 86.)*

(He who, after welcoming the out-going guests, is expecting the in-coming guests will become a fine guest to gods.)

Note 1.—Even though it seems at first sight that this sūtra enjoins what is evident (*i.e.*) that nouns do not generally denote time, yet it is this sūtra that explicitly reveals to us the one



peculiarity of the Tamil language, that the forms of finite verbs may be taken as nouns and declined. For instance the word *pārttiruppāṇ* in the example mentioned above is in form a finite verb; but here it is used as a noun. It may be declined exactly as a noun :—*pārttiruppāṇai*, *pārttiruppāṇāṇ* etc. It then means he who is expecting.

*Note 2.*—The meaning of this sūtra according to the four commentators is in essence the same. According to all of them the forms like *pārttiruppāṇ* may be used as nouns. But they arrive at it in different ways:—*Ḥampūraṇar*, *Cēṇavaraiyar* and *Teyvacilaiyār* take *peyar-nilai-k-kilavi* to mean nouns and *tolil-nilai* verb. *Naccinārkkīṇiyar*, on the other hand takes *peyar-nilai-k-kilavi* to mean *peyar-k-kilavi* (nouns) and *nilai-k-kilavi* (verbal nouns of the form *varutal*, *pōtal*, etc.). This splitting of *peyar-nilai-k-kilavi* into two parts seems to be unnatural and unnecessary, since its purpose is served by the word *onṛu* in the second line. *Tolil-nilai-y-oṭṭum-onṛu* evidently means one of *tolir-peyar*. *Ḥampūraṇar* states that some take *tolinilai* as an adjunct to *peyar-nilai-k-kilavi* and interpret the whole expression to denote *tolir-peyar* of the class *varutal*, *pōtal* and take *oṭṭum-onṛu* in the sense (*kālam*) *oṭṭum-onṛu* so that it may denote *tolir-peyar* which take tense-sign. They have done so perhaps on account of the fact that nouns generally have no tendency to denote tense. But taking *tolinilai* to qualify *peyar-nilai-k-kilavi* is not natural.

*Oṭṭum* is a particle of comparison in the opinion of *Cēṇavaraiyar* and a relative participle in the opinion of others.

71. இரண்டா குவதே

ஐயெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி  
எவ்வழி வரினும் வினையே வினைக்குறிப்பு  
அவ்விரு முதலிற் றேன்று மதுவே.

*Iraṇṭā kuvatē*

*Ai-y-ena-p peyariya vēṛṛumai-k kilavi*

*E-v-vali varinnum vinai-y-ē vinai-k-kurippu*

*A-v-v-iru mutalir rōṇṛu m-atu-v-ē.*

The second case called *i* denotes the direct object of a verb or an appellative verb.

Ex. *Vali-paṭuvōrai val-l-aṛiti* (Pura. 10.)

(You easily understand those that submit.)

*Nalliyakkōṭānai y-uṭaiyai* (Pura. 176.)

(You have Nalliyakkōṭaṇ.)



Arrai-t-tiṅkaḷ . . .

Entai<sup>1</sup>-y-um uṭai-y-ēm . . .

Iṛrai-t-tiṅkaḷ yām

. . . entai<sup>1</sup>-y-um ilam-ē. (Pūra. 112.)

(We had our father that day, but now we do not have him.)

Note 1.—All the four commentators take the sūtra to consist of two sentences:—*ai-y-eṇa-p-peyariya vērrumai-k-kiḷavi, iraṇṭākuvalē*, and *atu e-v-vaḷi varinnum viṇai-y-ē viṇai-k-kurippu a-v-v-iru-mutaliṛ rōṇrum*. Since *ai* as the second case is known by the sūtra 64, and since, if the sūtra is taken to contain two sentences expressing different ideas, it will give room to *vākya-bhēda* or sentence-split, it is preferable to take the word *iraṇṭākuvalū* to be the adjunct of *ai-y-eṇa-p-peyariya-vērrumai-k-kiḷavi* and the compound word *viṇai-y-ē-viṇai-k-kuripp-a-v-v-iru-mutaliṛ-rōṇ-rumatū* as the predicate of *ai-y-eṇa-p-peyariya-vērrumai-k-kiḷavi*.

Note 2.—The terms *iraṇṭāvatū vērrumai*, *mūṇṛāvatū vērrumai* etc., to denote the accusative case, the instrumental etc., are in the opinion of the author of *Pirayōka-vivēkam* the translation of *dvitīyā-vibhaktiḥ*, *trītiyā-vibhaktiḥ* etc. found in Sanskrit.

Note 3.—All the four commentators agree in the interpretation of the first two lines of the sūtra:—(i.e.) the case *ai* is the second. And *ḷampūraṇar*, *Cēṇāvaraiyar* and *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar* agree in the sense conveyed by the third and the fourth lines—(i.e.) *ai* denotes the direct object of a verb or an appellative verb. But they disagree in the interpretation of the expression *viṇai-y-ē viṇai-k-kurippa-v-v-iru-mutal*:—*ḷampūraṇar* takes it to mean either, that which qualifies a verb or an appellative verb, or, that which has a verb or an appellative verb for its *nimitta* or cause. If we take the former interpretation, the same may hold good for the third case, the fourth case, the fifth case and the seventh case. The latter interpretation is against the sūtra

‘*Viṇai-y-ē ceyvatū ceya-p-paṭu poruḷē*

.....  
*Ā-y-eṭ t-eṇpa tolū-muta nilai-y-ē.*

(Tol. Col. 112.)

where it is said that *ceya-p-paṭu-porū* or the direct object is one of the causes for an action to take place. *Cēṇāvaraiyar* takes the words *viṇai* and *viṇai-k-kurippu* to mean, ‘the object of *viṇai*’

1. The accusative case-suffix ‘*ai*’ is dropped here.



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# MAHĪPĀLA OF THE CAṆḌAKAUŚIKAM.

BY

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The *Caṇḍakauśikam* is a Sanskrit drama of five acts by Kṣemīśvara. Poor in its plot and execution, and mediocre in its poetry, the play lacks all title to distinction. The story of Hariścandra in itself lacks dramatic quality, and Kṣemīśvara's handling of it has not made it more attractive. Our concern however is not with the literary art of Kṣemīśvara or his lack of it. Our aim is to discuss the identity of King Mahīpāla whom he mentions in the following verse in the prelude to the *Caṇḍakauśikam* :

Yah saṁ-śritya prakṛti-gahanām-ārya-Cāṇakya-nītim  
Jitvā Nandān kusuma-nagaraṁ Candragupto jigāya |  
Kaṇḍātātvaṁ dhruvam-upa-gatān-adya tāneva hanturī  
Dor-darpādhyah sa punar-abhavac-chrī-mahīpāladevaḥ||

We are thus told by the poet that his patron was a Mahīpāla-deva born to chastise the Kaṇḍātas : and by a curious conceit, Mahīpāla is said to be a re-incarnation of the Mauryan emperor Candragupta, and the Kaṇḍātas of the Nandas who were overthrown by Candragupta following the lead of Cāṇakya.

Mahīpāla, the patron of Kṣemīśvara, is generally identified with the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj, who was also the patron of Rājasekhara, and whose reign extended roughly from A. D. 914 to 945.<sup>1</sup> Professor Sten Konow observes : "Pischell has rightly identified this Mahīpāladeva with Mahīpāla, the lord of Pratihāra, for whom the *Bālabhārata* of Rājasekhara was intended. We know also from *Bālabhārata* I, 7 that Rājasekhara's protector led extensive campaigns in the south."

The identity of Mahīpāla, the patron of Kṣemīśvara, with the Gurjara ruler of Kanauj has, however, sometimes been called

1. J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 655.  
VI—25



into question. The editors of the *Bālabhārata* of Rājaśekhara in the *Kāvyamālā* add a note to the *Bālabhārata* verse I, 7, in which they quote the verse of Kṣemiśvara on Mahīpāla and observe : *sa evāyamāpi Mahīpāladeva li tu na niścayaḥ*. Mr. R. D. Banerji has made a sustained effort in recent years to uphold the conjecture of Mr. Haraprasad Sastri that the famous Pāla ruler, Mahīpāla I of Bengal A. D. 974-1026, was the patron of Kṣemiśvara. Mr. R. D. Banerji also seeks to explain the allusion in Kṣemiśvara's verse to the Karṇāṭas as a reference to the celebrated expedition sent by Rājendra I Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-cōḷa. This expedition was charged with the task of bringing the sacred water of the Ganges for the purification of the Cōḷa country, and its commander was instructed to fight and overcome any opposition to the enterprise from the foreign kings through whose territory the Cōḷa army had to march to and fro.<sup>1</sup> Banerji holds that this expedition was repulsed by Mahīpāla I of Bengal about A. D. 1024.<sup>2</sup>

These views of Banerji were examined at some length by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in his essay on Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Aiyangar showed that the Karṇāṭas of the *Caṇḍakauśika*, the opponents of Mahīpāla, could not have been the Cōḷa forces who were mostly Tamils, and that Kṣemiśvara must have referred to the wars of the Gurjara Mahīpāla I with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He also pointed out that there was no evidence either in Pāla or in Cōḷa inscriptions in favour of Banerji's theory of a victory gained against the Cōḷa forces by the Pāla ruler of Bengal. Influenced rather unduly by a somewhat forced interpretation he put upon the verse from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, Dr. Aiyangar adumbrated a theory that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power overthrown by Gurjara Mahīpāla I had its location in Magadha. Because Mahīpāla and his Karṇāṭaka foes are compared to Candragupta and the Nandas respectively in the verse of Kṣemiśvara, Dr. Aiyangar has argued that the scene of Mahīpāla's victory must have also been in Magadha. Accordingly he supposes that a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who had for sometime held a principality in Central India, were compelled after the rise of the Caṇḍela power in the tenth century to move into Magadha, where they created for themselves

1. *Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates* vv. 109, 110.

2. *The Palas of Bengal*, p. 73.

*Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee volumes Orientalia*, Part 2, pp. 559 ff.



a kingdom 'which bore the name Daṇḍabhukti as forming either a part or the whole of their former fief.'<sup>1</sup> Not only is this history of Rāṣṭrakūṭa migration into Magadha unsupported by any tangible evidence, but the hypothesis is really unnecessary. The need for it arises from pursuing the analogy between Mahīpāla and Candragupta to lengths to which it was not meant to be pursued by Kṣeṃiśvara. The whole point of a comparison is, and here it is a similarity underlying the *utprekṣā* of the verse, that there is some *sādrśya* in the midst of many differences between the two objects of comparison, and we shall see presently that the *sādrśya* in this comparison is really to be sought in the exile of the king from his country by the success of his enemies, and his regaining possession of it by diplomacy and foreign aid. The clause "*yaḥ saṃśritya-prakṛti-gahanām ārya-cāṇakya nītin*"—seems to furnish the real clue to the point of comparison; the statement that Candragupta captured Kusumanagaram from his enemies should not be taken to imply that Mahīpāla did the same thing over again.<sup>2</sup>

There is also another difficulty in the position of Dr. Aiyangar. If Daṇḍabhukti was in its origin a military fief in Magadha in the occupation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, one may ask how it passed into the hands of Dharmapāla who is said to have ruled it at the time of the Ganges expedition of Rājendra Cōla's troops? In seeking to answer this question, Dr. Aiyangar admits the possibility that the Karṇāṭas (Rāṣṭrakūṭas) of Magadha may have been conquered by Mahīpāla I of Bengal, who may have employed Dharmapāla, one of his relatives, in a subordinate capacity in the newly conquered territory. He says:<sup>3</sup> "The defeat of the Karṇāṭas by Mahīpāla, the Pāla king, and his conquest of the territory in consequence, are just possible on this basis, but it would, in the circumstances in which the fact is mentioned, be better to refer the defeat of the Karṇāṭakas to Mahīpāla, the Gurjjara." One more extract will place Dr. Aiyangar's contention in a clearer light: "It seems a provable hypothesis that the Karṇāṭas of Magadha that figure in the records of the Pāla kings of Bengal were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who settled themselves in Central India, and cutting off political relationship with the mother dynasty

1. *op cit*, pp. 557-8.

2. *Contra* Dr. Aiyangar, *op cit*, p. 560.

3. *op. cit*, pp. 558-9.



made for themselves a kingdom first in Central India and subsequently in Magadha. It is the ascent to power of Mahīpāla, the Gurjara, that brought them under a political eclipse so effectively that we lose sight of them altogether all through the tenth century. It is this fact that seems to be preserved in the *gāthā* of the *Caṇḍakauśika*. There is no need, therefore to postulate a Kaṇṇāṭaka contingent in Rājendra Cōla's army, and of its being left behind to hold the territory of Magadha in behalf of Rājendra Cōla."<sup>1</sup>

In a paper on Pāla chronology, Mr. Banerji returned to the charge in 1928, and traversed the opinions of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar cited above.<sup>2</sup> He pointed out that there is no proof of the existence of an independent Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Kaṇṇāṭaka power in Bihar in the 10th century A. D., or indeed in any part of northern India. In this Mr. Banerji seems to be right, as also in rejecting the identification of Daṇḍabhukti with Bihar. The Cōla inscriptions and the *Rāmacarita* and its commentary alike support Mr. Banerji's identification of Daṇḍabhukti with a part of the modern district of Midnapore.

But then, he betrays his unfamiliarity with the details of the evidence of the Cōla inscriptions, and draws rather freely on his imagination when he says of the Cōla invaders: "Though the Bhāgīrathī was reached, the Cōla general actually refrained from capturing and plundering Gauḍa, the ancient capital of the Pālas, which lay a few miles across the Ganges. We have no reason to believe that a roving band of South Indian marauders, like the Cōla army, was composed of devout ascetics who religiously refrained from rapine and plunder, filled their vessels with the holy water of the Ganges and retraced their way home with their eyes shut as soon as their objective was gained. The Tirumalai inscription says that the Cōla army reached Uttara Rāḍhā after putting Mahīpāla to flight. The inscription ends abruptly and therefore there is no reason to doubt the evidence of the *Caṇḍakauśika* that a king named Mahīpāla had defeated an army of Kaṇṇāṭakas." The argument in this passage is simply this: the Cōla army was composed not of ascetics but marauders; they would have plundered Gauḍa if they could; but they did not do so, hence they must have sustained a defeat. This inference is supported by the

1. *op. cit.* p. 562.

2. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIV, 512 ff.



abrupt end of the Tirumalai rock inscription and the verse from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*.

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates<sup>1</sup> of Rājendra make it very clear that the king enjoined on the commander of the expedition that he was to concentrate on his objective, the fetching of Ganges water, and fight only with those who opposed the enterprise and to the extent necessary to clear the way for the fulfilment of his object. In other words, the holy waters of the Ganges, not fighting, nor plunder, formed the motive of the expedition. Once this is grasped, there would be no surprise that the army which reached the Ganges, did not cross the stream to plunder Gauḍa, and the need for postulating a defeat of the Cōḷa army by the Pāla ruler would disappear, together with the search for the evidence in favour of such a hypothesis. No Tamil scholar will agree with Mr. Banerji that the Tirumalai rock inscription ends abruptly. In fact this *praśasti* of Rājendra I (*tiru-manni vaḷara* etc.) is a fine composition with a clear plan of its own and of much value to the historian on account of the additions made to it from time to time to bring its narration of the leading events of the reign up to date. This inscription of the thirteenth year<sup>2</sup> closes the narrative of events on the word *Kaṅgaiyum* (1. 11), which, with the participle *koṇḍa* in the next line, is intended to suggest the chief *biruda* of the king, *Gaṅgai-koṇḍa*. Far from being abrupt, the end seems to have been carefully planned by the composer. The truth is that, if we put on one side the verse from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, there is no evidence whatever to support the view that Mahīpāla of Bengal defeated an army from South India.

The verse from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, as we have seen, speaks of Mahīpāla defeating the *Karṇāṭakas*. There is a real difficulty in connecting this statement with the northern expedition of Rājendra Cōḷa, and Mr. Banerji recognises this. He says:<sup>3</sup> "The only valid objection which may be raised is the term *Karṇāṭaka*. It may be said that the term *Karṇāṭaka* must refer to a Kanarese power. But no invasion of Bengal from the Kanarese country during the reign of Mahīpāla I is known, and in those days the people of Bengal could not distinguish between Kannāḍas and Tamils. Even in the 19th century the East India Company's

1. vv. 109, 110.

2. E. I. IX, p. 232.

3. J. B. O. R. S. XIV, p. 518.



Hindustani sepoy were generally known as Telingas." This argument would perhaps be valid if it were established that the *Caṇḍakauśikam* was a play produced in Bengal under the Pāla ruler Mahīpāla I. If, on the other hand, it is possible to point to another Mahīpāla in whose reign a Karnatic war did take place and who may have been the patron of Kṣemīśvara, we should then find it more easy to assign the play to his time, than to follow Mr. Banerji in believing that a Bengali author of the eleventh century A. D. committed the same sort of error about the nationality of South Indians as Muhammadan chroniclers and Anglo-Indian writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Gurjara ruler Mahīpāla I in fact satisfies all the conditions of the case.

Mr. Banerji does not, however, think that this is so. In discussing Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's view quoted above,<sup>1</sup> he says: "Professor Aiyangar has perhaps forgotten the existence of the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. Mahīpāla I, a younger son of Mahēndrapāla I, succeeded to the throne by removing his elder brother Bhōja II with the help of the Caṇḍella chief Harṣa. Very shortly afterwards the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was shattered by the onslaught of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Indra III. In fact this young prince dealt the death blow to Gurjara-Pratihāra supremacy in India. He invaded Mālava, captured Ujjain, crossed the Jumna near Kalpi, devastated Kanauj and compelled Mahīpāla I to flee before his general, the Cālukya chief, Narasimha, to Allahabad. Mahīpāla I returned to Kanauj after the retirement of Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces were fast becoming independent under the feudatories and governors. No Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty ever defeated any Karmāṭaka army or chief, and therefore it is cruel of Professor Aiyangar to attribute the production of the drama *Caṇḍakauśikam* before this unfortunate king."<sup>2</sup>

The relevant verse in the Cambay plates runs as follows :<sup>3</sup>

Yan-mādyad-dvipa-danta-ghāta-viṣamaṁ. Kālapriya-prāṅga-  
ṇam

Tirṇā yat turagair-agādha-yamunā-sindhu-prati-spardhinī |

Yenedam hi mahodayāri-nagaraṁ nirmūlam-unmūlitam

Nāmnā-dyā-pi janaiḥ kuśasthalaṁ-iti khyātim parāṁ nīyate||

1. See *ante* p. 192.

2. J. B. O. R. S. XIV, p. 519.

3. E. I. VII, p. 38, v. 19.



On this verse Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar remarks with justice:<sup>1</sup> "But the complete devastation of Mahodaya, which Indra III is spoken of as having brought about, is merely poetical. For, the poet's object appears to be to introduce a play on the words *mahodaya* and *kuśasthala* which in their conventional sense mean Kanauj, and in their etymological one, 'full of high prosperity' and 'a spot of *kuśa* grass' respectively: 'Mahodaya' *i.e.*, Kanauj ceased to be Mahodaya, *i.e.*, highly prosperous, and became Kuśasthala, *i.e.*, a mere spot of *Kuśa* grass. Hence, the complete annihilation of the city of Mahodaya or Kanauj alluded to in this stanza cannot be reasonably assumed to be a historical fact. This is also seen from the consideration that, as a matter of fact, for long after the event recorded in this verse took place, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes, ruling over Northern India." Prof. Bhandarkar has also shown that after a short exile from his kingdom, Mahīpāla I was restored to it by the joint efforts of the Caṇḍela king Harṣadeva and the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, Prof. Sten Konow, following Pischell's identification of Kṣeṃiśvara's patron with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Mahīpāla I, writes:<sup>3</sup> "Indra III, the king of Rāṣṭrakūṭa, of whom we possess inscriptions of years 914 and 916, and who accordingly was a contemporary of Pratīhāra Mahīpāla of Kānyakubja, at all events says of himself that he conquered Mahodaya (Kānyakubja). Since, however, Mahīpāla's successors continued their dominion over Kānyakubja, we cannot judge this statement in any other way than similar statements found in inscriptions, in which each of the parties to a battle claims to be the victor. Mahīpāla's victory over the Karṇāṭas, and Indra's victory over Mahodaya probably relate to the same occurrence which was differently interpreted by the participants."

One final consideration may be urged before concluding. Why should Kṣeṃiśvara drag in the analogy of an ancient half-forgotten king, not altogether of good repute in Hindu tradition, when the author's aim is obviously to praise his patron monarch? The answer may be made that after the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhaḍatta, the history of Candragupta's exile and return to Magadha

1. E. I. VII, p. 30.<sup>3</sup>

2. *ibid.*, pp. 30-3.

3. I. D. Sec. 98.



with Cāṇakya's aid became common property of the *literati*, and consequently, it was by no means out of the way for Kṣemiśvara to bring in this story. But may there not be something more in it? Considering that Mahīpāla owed his restoration in part to a Caṇḍela, and that Kṣemiśvara is also known as Ārya-Kṣemiśvara,<sup>1</sup> one is led to suspect that in the phrases *Candragupto jigāya*<sup>2</sup> and *ārya-Cāṇakya-nītim saṁśritya*, the poet may be hinting at the help Mahīpāla got from the Caṇḍela king, and, possibly also, at his own part in securing the aid of this prince, or of others, who assisted in the return of Mahīpāla to his kingdom. Kṣemiśvara had no lack of purāṇic stories of celebrated kings exiled for a time and restored to their throne, and the employment of any of these stories might have served, if his object was only to praise his patron. It seems possible therefore, that in the actual phrases he has chosen to employ, the poet is hinting (by *dhvani*) at the actual course of contemporary history and his own part in it. If there is any truth in this surmise, the identity of Kṣemiśvara's patron with the Gurjara Mahīpāla becomes most securely established.<sup>3</sup>

There is thus no reason to doubt the correctness of the view expressed many years ago by Pischell and generally accepted by students of Sanskrit literature and epigraphy that the *Caṇḍakaśīkām* was a play produced in the early years of the tenth century A. D. in the court of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahīpāla I.

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1. See Prastāvanā.

2. Perhaps the name Candragupta is also intended to refer to the idea expressed by the phrase "Candreṇa (Caṇḍella-harṣeṇa) guptaḥ".

3. The suggestions put forward in this paragraph are based on a conversation with Prof. S. Kuppusvami Sastrigal.



## WRITERS QUOTED IN THE ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ.

BY

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## KĪRTIDHARA.

Another writer given as a commentator on Bharata by Śārṅgadeva is Kīrtidhara. There are at least four references to him in the Abhinavabhāratī.

1. The first reference to Kīrtidhara is on the difference between Nāṭya and Nṛtta, occurring on p. 208, Gaek. edn., at the end of Chap. IV. There is nothing in this reference to show that Kīrtidhara commented on Bharata.

The other three references are in the Geyādhikāra, Vol. IV, Mad. Ms.

2. “ एतदुक्तम् — ‘प्राहमेककलं साम द्विकलं वह्निजं तथा ।  
चन्त्रन्तु (?) विकलं शुष्कं पूर्वयोः सार्धकं \* \* ॥’

इति कीर्तिधराचार्यः ।”

p. 42.

3. ‘ननु चत्वारि यथा कीर्तिधरोऽभ्यधात् इति ।’

p. 50.

4. The fourth reference is a valuable one. The context is the Mārgāsārītā dances of the Pūrvaraṅga.

“यत्तत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) दर्शितं तद-  
न्याभिः (तदस्माभिः) न दृष्टम्, तत्प्रत्ययात्तु लिख्यते ।”

p. 50.

Abhinava proposes to give the dances from Kīrtidhara, who himself gives them from Nandikeśvara. Abhinava says that he himself did not have access to Nandikeśvara's work and that he writes these on the authority of Kīrtidhara. Accordingly on pp. 51-54, Abhinava gives a large prose extract on the मार्गासारित dances of the Pūrvaraṅga. So it is that we find Nandikeśvara, the most prominent in the pantheon of Saṅgīta and Nāṭya, not quoted anywhere by Abhinava. But Mr. R. Kavi says that the passage above quoted reads differently in his ms. and hence means differ-



ently; and that Abhinava does quote largely from Nandikeśvara in the commentary on Chap. XXVIII. The Ms. of the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library unfortunately does not contain the major portion of the commentary on this Chap. Mr. R. Kavi says that his Ms. contains it completely. Though the work of Nandikeśvara was not available to Abhinava, a work called नन्दिमतं was available to Abhinava. It is quoted on p. 141, Gaek. edn., on the movement called रेचितम्.

“तथा च नन्दिमत उक्तम्—

“रेचिताख्योऽङ्गहारो यो द्विधा तेन ह्यशेषतः ।

तुष्यन्ति देवतास्तेन ताण्डवे तं नियोजयेत् ॥”

From the above references we can say that there is no evidence to take Kirtidhara as having written a commentary on Bharata.

#### ṬĪKĀKĀRA.

There is a commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra called the Ṭikā which Abhinava quotes often. Except four references, all the other references to it are in the Geyādhikāra. The following eighteen are in the unprinted portion of the Abhi. Bhā. (Mad. ms.).

1. While commenting on Śl. 2, Chap. XXI, Kāśī edn. on the two parts of the plot, आधिकारिक and प्रासङ्गिक, Abhinava refers to and refutes the Ṭikākāra, who divided the Prāsaṅgika into many kinds.

“तेन शक्यन्तरयोगायोगाभ्यां च यत्प्रासङ्गिकस्यानेकविधत्वं टीका-  
कृद्भिरभ्यधायि, न तदुपाध्यायाः संमन्यन्ते ।”

Abhinava follows his teacher, does not accept many kinds of Prāsaṅgika but gives it as of one kind only.

2. The next reference in the Nāṭyādhikāra is in the Chapter on Sāmānyābhinaya. Bharata gives a list of twelve ‘Mārgas’ of Abhinaya, आलाप, प्रलाप etc. Śls. 49-57, p. 273, Kāśī edn. The twelfth is अतिदेश and while commenting upon it, Abhinava remarks that the Ṭikākāra has introduced irrelevant things here.

“अत्र उपदेशातिदेशयोः उपमानस्य च साहित्यविषये. तार्किकमीमां-  
सकविषये विशेषप्रतिपादनं यत् टीकाकारैः कृतम्, तत्सुकुमारमनोमोहनं  
वृथाभ्रमणिकामात्रम्, प्रकृतानुयोगादिह उपेक्ष्यमेव ।” Vol. III, p. 48.



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3. “गानमुपरञ्जकं सत् नाट्य(त्वं) व्यवस्थापयदेव उपरञ्जयतीति युक्त एष एव क्रमः इति टीकाकारः, तदेतन्न विदामः ।” Vol. III, p. 98.

4. “यत्तु तन्त्रीगतं प्रोक्तम्” (Bh.) इति विपञ्चीवीणादिभेदात् आतोद्यतेति टीकाकारः तदयुक्तम् ।” Vol. III, p. 98.

5. “तदेवं निर्वचनं तात्पर्येण श्लोक इति टीकाकारः ! अत्र तु नकारस्तु व्याख्यात एव तस्मादुपाध्यायैरिदमुक्तम् (?) ।” Vol. III, p. 100.

6. The sixth reference is on the tunes to be used for the various Bhāvas and Rasas. The Tīkākāra says that what Kaśyapa has given on this subject does not agree with Bharata. Abhinava removes this difficulty. He says that it is Kaśyapa, Kohala and others who added and developed Bharata and instead of saying that these three differ, later writers must follow all the three, for the views of Kaśyapa and Kohala<sup>1</sup> in this particular respect have become wide spread in the world.

“अत्र टीकाकारः शङ्कते, योऽयं जात्यंशकानां विनियोग उक्तः, स कश्यपमुनिमतादिभिर्विरुध्यते । तथा हि तैरुक्तम्” \* \* \* \*

“प्रत्य(त्यु)त ‘कोहलस्तद्वदिष्यति’ (Bh.) इति सर्वमनुज्ञातमेव मुनि(ना).....एत्प्रसिद्धये तत्रोक्तं रक्त्यतिशययोगाय लोके कोहलकश्यपादि-मतमेव प्रसिद्धिमुपगतमित्यलं बहुना ।” Vol. IV, p. 4.

7. “टीकाकारास्ताहुः, आश्रयः स्वतः स्वरूपेण जातीनां गाने उपयोगः, न तु रक्तिसंपादकत्वेन । एतच्च पूर्वमेव विचारितमित्यास्ताम् ।” Vol. IV, p. 14.

8. टीकाकारैस्तु श्लोकार्थस्यास्य प्रतिकर्षणत्वमस्य व्याख्यातं पुन-रुक्तप्रायमित्यास्तां तावत् ।” Vol. IV, p. 22.

9. “ये त्वन्ये ते आनीतप्रयोगविषयाः तान्निबोधतेति वर्णाश्रित-त्वात् वर्णा इति टीकाकृतः ।” Vol. IV, p. 22.

This is refuted by Abhinava by quoting his Paramaguru, Utpaladeva.

10. The tenth reference is valuable since it mentions the Sadāśiva Bharata or the work on Nāṭya attributed to Sadāśiva, and since it mentions also the Guru of the Tīkākāra.

1. Kohala on this subject of tunes according to Rasas is quoted by Mallinātha on Śl. 91, canto. VII, Ku. Sam.



टीकाकृद्भिस्तु सदाशिवस्तादिग्रन्थान्तरलिखितं, 'त्रयस्त्रिंशदिमे प्रोक्ताः अलङ्काराः \* \* ।' इत्यदितनां लिखितां (?) ग्रन्थान्तरपरिवर्तने अनिष्ट-प्रसङ्गात् । श्रीपादप्रोक्तादिति स्वगुरुमतादनुमता ; ममाचनन्तादिषु श्रीसंमिताश्चरान्योन्य (?) दर्शनात् कियल्लेखनीयम् । न चापि किञ्चित्तेन [किञ्चित्] प्रयोजनम्, सर्वेभ्यः सर्वेषु सिद्धिरिति ह्युक्तं प्राक् ।" Vol. IV, p. 25.

From the above given passage, we may take one श्रीपाद as the teacher of the Tīkākāra. Whether that is the real full name of the teacher or only the honorific suffix to his name cannot be said. From the temper of Abhinava's criticisms and from the fact that all the references to the Tīkākāra are cases of complete refutation, one can infer that perhaps the Tīkākāra was a contemporary of Abhinava, that he blundered much in the Geyādhikāra especially and that his Tīkā was undeservedly popular. But there is no clear evidence for such conclusions.

11. यत्त्वत्र टीकाकृता स्वगतपरगतत्वेन धर्मस्यातिदेशस्य विकल्प-लक्षणाभिधानलाघवोपयोगित्वम् अतिदेशस्याभ्यधायि । तदेवमेव सर्वत्र ब्राह्मण-वद्राजा द्रष्टव्य इत्यादावपि अतिदेशस्वरूपनिर्वाहं नेह पूर्वतया मन्तव्यम् (?) ।" Vol IV, p. 59.

12. "द्विकत्रि (क) चतुष्को वा श्रुतिसंख्यो भवेत्स्वरः ।  
अधीराणां तु शेषाणां स्वराणामपि सन्ततम् ॥"

अस्यार्थः । टीकाकारस्तावदाह \* \* \* \* \*  
एष चार्थः फल्गुप्रायः । न हीयता वीणायां श्रुतिचर्चा काचिद्वर्तिता भवति ।" Vol. IV, p. 63.

13. "यट्टीकां(कायां) मानेनैव तत्पूर्वकत्वात् सर्पिण्याद्यपि संगृहीतं भवतीत्युचे, तत्प्रयासमात्रम् ।" Vol. IV, p. 89.

14. टीकाकृतस्तु(ता तु) सन्निपातव्युत्पत्त्या शम्यादिव्युत्पत्त्या शम्यादिव्याख्यायाः अवान्तरतालां देवैः (?) इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत् \* \* \* शिष्टश्लोकभागः व्यर्थ इत्यलमनेन ।" Vol. IV, p. 137.

15. "षट् आस्य स्थानमान अस्य चाङ्गत्र इति (?) टीकाकारा-स्तावत् व्याकुर्वन्ति ।" p. 151.

16. "टीकाकारास्तु \* \* \* उपोहनत्वं यदुक्तं तत्कथमिति न विदुः, मुनिना उक्तत्वात् (अनुक्तत्वात्) दत्तिलादिभिरेव \* \* \* ।" p. 162.



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Abhinava here says that the *Ṭikākāra* does not know what the *Upohana* given by Bharata means. It is not explained by Bharata but is explained only by Dattila and other writers. Abhinava ridicules the *Ṭikākāra* for not having read even Dattila's work.

17. “अत्र टीकाकारेण आक्षिप्तवज्रं च शीर्षकं चेति यो विनियोगः प्रागुक्तः, तत्र वज्रादिषु वर्णान्तरङ्गाणां तालाध्याये बहुशाखः पूर्वापरविरोध इति तदेतदस्मदागमव्याख्यायां निरुत्थानमेव हि \* \* \* तथा हि तेनोक्तम् \* \* \* \* \* ।”

Then Abhinava gives a long *Anuvāda* of the view of the *Ṭikākāra*, gives a criticism of it by other writers with whom he and his teacher agree. The passage ends thus. “इदमेव युक्तमित्युपाध्यायाः ।”

Vol. IV, p. 192.

18. “टीकाकारास्तु पश्चिमणैः त्रिकोणचतुष्कोणरङ्गापेक्षया त्र्यश्रचतुरश्रता तु (?) विभागमाहुः । तस्मात् (तत्) अस्मद्गुरुभ्यो न रुचित(तं) ।”

Vol. IV, p. 192.

These are the 18 references to the *Ṭikākāra* available in the unprinted portion of the *Abhinavabhāratī*. Two references to him are available in the portion printed in the Gaek. Series. pp. 318 and 328. These two are in the sections on *Karuṇa* and *Bhayānaka Rasas* respectively (ch. vi) and here also the *Ṭikākāra* is criticised. The name of the author of this *Ṭikā* on Bharata is not known. His Guru can be taken to be one श्रीपाद. An *Ālaṅkārika* of this same name, श्रीपाद, is quoted by Keśava in his *Ālaṅkāra Śekhara*. श्रीपाद is a Buddhist or Jain name.

## BHATṬAYANTRA.

A writer named Bhaṭṭayantra is quoted and that only once by Abhinavagupta. The context is the discussion on the difference between *Nāṭya* and *Nṛtta*. Bhaṭṭayantra's definition of *Nṛtta* is given.

“‘शिक्षार्हस्वेच्छान्यनृत्तकतिपयनाट्याङ्गकृतं नृत्तम् अभ्यासफलम्’ इति भट्टयन्त्रः ।”

Gaek. edn., p. 208.

There is no evidence to suppose that Bhaṭṭayantra wrote a commentary on the *Nāṭya Śāstra*.



## ŚRĪHARṢA'S NĀṬYA VĀRTIKA.

Next to the consideration of the commentaries on the Nāṭya Śāstra, comes that of the Vārtika on the Nāṭya Śāstra. The Nāṭya Śāstra, like other Śāstras, has its Sūtras, Vārtika and Bhāṣya. We must distinguish from these the still later Alaṅkāra Sūtras, Alaṅkāra Vārtika and Alaṅkāra Bhāṣya. Besides the Kāvyaālaṅkāra Sūtras of Vāmana, the Kārikās of Maṃmaṭa have been considered as Sūtras and a persistent tradition was current in some parts of the country that the Kārikās of the Kāvyaaprakāśa were the Sūtras of Bharata, the product of which view is the Sāhityakaumudī of Vidyābhūṣaṇa. K. M. 63. Besides these two instances, there seems to be some other Sūtrakāra for Alaṅkāra, a Buddhist monk. We know of him from quotations of his Sūtras in Keśava's Alaṅkāra Śekhara pp. 2 and 20. K. M. edn. He is referred to as अलङ्कारविद्यासूत्रकारः भगवान्शौद्धोदनिः । An Alaṅkāra Vārtika is referred to by Jayaratha in his Vimarśinī on the Alaṅkārasarvasva.<sup>1</sup> Three verses from a Vārtika on the different meanings of the word ध्वनि are quoted in Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's commentary on the Kāvyaaprakāśa.<sup>2</sup> These verses put in metre what Abhinava has said in his Locana : that ध्वनि by different Vyutpattis mean ध्वनिव्यापार, ध्वन्यमानार्थ, ध्वनिकाव्य etc. Thus this Vārtika quoted by Bhaṭṭa Gopāla is later than Abhinava. This Vārtika may or may not be the Alaṅkāravārtika referred to by Jayaratha. Again these must not be confused with the Harṣacaritavārtika of Ruyyaka or Maṅkhuka, which, I think, is a commentary on the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa, pointing out with definitions the Alaṅkāras which abound in that work. An Alaṅkāra Bhāṣya is thrice quoted by Jayaratha<sup>3</sup> and the first two of these references are repeated by Jagannātha in his Rasagaṅgādhara. These Sūtras, Vārtikas and Bhāṣya of Alaṅkāra must not be confused with those of the Nāṭya Śāstra. The Sūtras of the Nāṭya Śāstra are the brief prose bits available in the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata, such as the Rasa Sūtra, as also the Naṭa Sūtras referred to by Pāṇini. The whole Nāṭya Śāstra itself is also Sūtra, for Abhinava takes it so.

1. p. 71. Nir. S. edn.

2. Triv. edn., p. 234.

3. pp. 35, 83 and 138.



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षटत्रिंशकं भरतसूत्रमिदं विवृण्वन्

वन्दे शिवं श्रुतितदर्थविवेकि धाम ॥ Gaek. edn., p. 1.

The Vārtika on it was written by one Śrī Harṣa or Harṣa to whom we will return presently. The Bhāṣya is by Nānyadeva alias Rāja Nārāyaṇa, king of Mithilā. He is later than Abhinava and is earlier than Śārṅgadeva. His work, though generally called as Bharata Bhāṣya, has in two of the colophons the name Bharata Vārtika. The work is also called Sarasvatīhṛdayālankāra. A section of one fourth of that work is now available to us and the ms. of it is in the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.<sup>1</sup> The work is stupendous in its plan. It is divided into four Arśas, each Arśa dealing with one of the four Abhinayas. The first seems to be the वाचिकांश and comprises of Saṅgīta, Alāṅkāra and Daśarūpa. Of this first Arśa, the portion dealing with music alone is now available. Two of the colophons have this suggestive word—‘वाचिकांशे’.

The Harṣavārtika on the Nāṭya Śāstra is nowhere else referred to except in the Abhinavabhāratī. Here also it is quoted only in the first six chapters. Not even a single reference to it is available in the remaining bulk of the Abhinavabhāratī. Perhaps to Abhinava himself, only a fragment of the Harṣavārtika was available. Who this Harṣa or Śrī Harṣa is cannot be decided.

1. The first quotation from the Vārtika is in the commentary on chapter two on Theatre. The verses quoted speak of the number and position of the pillars.

“वार्तिककृतु—‘अन्ते नेपथ्यगृहं स्तम्भौ द्वौ पीठकाश्च चत्वारः ।

...न्ये चत्वारः दशैवमुक्ता भवन्त्येते ॥

मित्तेः स्तम्भानां च स्यादन्तरमष्टहस्तमेवान्तः ।’

इति ।”

Vol. I, p. 67, Gaek. edn., N. S.

2. The second reference occurs in the same chapter and describes the gallery-like seating arrangement of the theatre.

“दत्तोऽद्यवातायः सोऽथा नानाभवेदुक्तः । (?)

चत्वारः पीठगताः पश्चादग्रे च याविह द्वौ द्वौ ॥

1. A Transcript copy of it is now available in the Mad. Mss. Library.



षट् सान्तरास्तथान्ये कार्या इति शास्त्र..... ।  
 .....पीठगताः पश्चादग्रे च याविह द्वौ द्वौ ॥  
 तेषामष्टात्रन्येऽप्युपरिनिवेश्याः य उदिष्टाः ।  
 तैरुत्क्षिप्तैरिह तत् स्यादालोकः समस्तरङ्गस्य ॥  
 सोपानाकृतिपीठक्रमत्र विधेयं समन्ततो रङ्गे ।  
 येनालोक.....व्युपरिकाष्ठासु ॥” p. 68, *Ibid.*

3. In the discussion on the difference between Nṛtta and Nāṭya Śrī Harṣa boldly says that they are not different, both of them having the same features.

वार्तिककृताप्युक्तम्—

“वाच्यानुगतेऽभिनये प्रतिपाद्येऽर्थे च गात्रविक्षेपैः ।

उभयोरपि हि समाने को भेदो नृत्तनाट्यगतः ॥” p. 172, *Ibid.*

4. On the same subject another quotation from Harṣa appears on p. 174.

“नास्त्यसौ भिन्नस्वभाव इति यावत् । यद्वार्तिकम्—‘प्रत्यमर्शान्तर-  
 वाक्यैरुपदेशो रागदर्शनीयेषु । सिंहादिवर्णकैर्वा कचिदप्यर्थान्तरन्यासात् ॥”

5. The next reference is also on the same subject :

“‘रसमादृष्ट (ष्टि) हस्तशिरश्चाद्य यद्यङ्गं पूर्णं वा अपूर्णं वा कृत  
 एव नाट्यनृत्तयोर्भेदः तुल्यानुकारत्वे’ इति हर्षवार्तिकम् ।”

Nāṭya primarily means all stage performances. It is divided into two kinds, Drama and Dance. The former is Rūpaka, the 10 kinds in the scheme of Daśarūpaka and some of the major varieties of the Uparupakas also, such as Nāṭikā and Troṭaka. The minor varieties of the Uparūpakas are नृत्यप्रबन्धः. These represent the second, viz., Dance. Sometimes the former, (i.e.) Dramas alone are referred to as Nāṭya and the rest as नृत्य, or नृत्त, two kinds of dance. These two are clearly different since Drama is enacted by many while the नृत्य or नृत्त is एकहार्य, a complete theme rendered in Abhinaya by one. But underneath this difference, there are common features which Harṣa emphasises. They are both of them Anukāra and the mode of interpretation in both of them is Abhinaya and Aṅgahāra. It is on this point that Abhinava quotes a number of writers at the end of chapter four, Bhaṭṭayantra, Kīrtidhara, Lollaṭa etc.



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6. The sixth reference to the Vārtika is to its interpretation of the word पूर्वरङ्ग. This is the first reference which refers to the Vārtikakāra as श्रीहर्ष.

“श्रीहर्षस्तु रङ्गशब्देन तौर्यत्रिकं ब्रुवन् नाट्याङ्गप्रयोगस्य तस्यैव पूर्वरङ्गतां मन्यमानः पूर्वश्चातौ रङ्गश्चेति समासममंस्त ।

यदाह—

‘दृष्टा येऽवस्थार्थे (वस्त्वर्थे ?) नाट्ये रङ्गाय पादभागाः स्युः ।

पूर्वं त एव यस्मिन् शुद्धाः स्युः पूर्वरङ्गेऽसौ ॥’ ” p. 211, *Ibid.*

7. The next is on the Aṅgas of the पूर्वरङ्ग, viz., प्रत्याहार, अवतरण etc.

“उक्तं च वार्तिके ‘बुद्ध्यायषट्कचेदिज (?) रङ्गभेदः, न तु प्रत्याहारवतरणे आद्ये, रङ्गद्वारादीनि पाश्चात्त्यानि पादभागाद्यारब्धानि’ इति ।”  
p. 212, *Ibid.*

8. The eighth and the last reference available is on the Sthāpaka Sūtradhāra of the Pūrvaraṅga. Śrī Harṣa here mentions a poet called Hāsa and a drama of his, probably with the story of Nala as its plot.

“यदाह श्रीहर्षः ‘अत एव हासो नाम (कविः) कस्मिंश्चिन्नाटके ‘दिवं यातश्चित्तज्वरेण कलिरित एवाभिवर्तते । अशक्यमस्य पुरोऽवस्थातुम्’ इत्यादि ।”

From these references, we see also that Śrī Harṣa's Vārtika on the Nāṭya Śāstra was mainly in Āryā verses with occasional prose. It must be this Vārtikakāra Harṣa whom Śāradātanaya mentions in his Bhāvaṇṇaprakāśa, on the definition of the Uparūpaka called Toṭaka.

दिव्यमानुषसंयोगो यत्राङ्कैरविदूषकैः ।

तदेव तोटकं भेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक् ॥ p. 238, ll. 4 and 5.  
Bhā. Pr. Gaek. edn.

This definition, especially the feature—“यत्राङ्कैरविदूषकैः” is not in agreement with Vikramorvaśīya which is a Toṭaka and hence Śāradātanaya remarks upon Harṣa's definition—

तदव्यापकमित्यन्ये नाद्रियन्ते विपश्चितः ।

Prabhākara's Rasapradīpa (G. Kaviraj, Sarasvati Bhavan Studies) gives a prose extract from one श्रीहर्षमिश्र on the subject of दोष. The passage seems to be that of a late writer and this Śrī Harṣa is not identical with the Vārtikakāra.



Keśava Miśra, in his *Alaṅkāraśekhara* (K. M. edn. P. 47), in the chapter on Kavi Śikṣā, while giving a list of Upamās for the various parts of the body says that the nose is compared to the sesamum flower—तिलप्रसून. He illustrates this with a verse and adds:

‘कामतूणीकृत्य नासा वर्ण्यते’ इति श्रीहर्षः ।<sup>1</sup>

This Śrī Harṣa whose identity also is not known has greater likeness only to the श्रीहर्षमिश्र mentioned by Prabhākara.

### RĀHULA.

Rāhula is mentioned as an authority on Nāṭya Śāstra in Śārṅgadeva's list. क्षेत्रराजश्च राहुलः. His name is given by Śārṅgadeva as Rāhala. He is quoted in the *Abhinavabhāratī* four times. Mr. R. Kavi, in the introduction to his edition of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* Vol. I, in the Gaek. series says that Rāhula is a Vārtikakāra. He has not given any evidence for that statement and we also do not find any evidence to take Rāhula as a Vārtikakāra. One quotation from Rāhula is in the commentary on chapter four. It is on one of kind of Nāṭyadharmā or Nāṭyadharminī.

“एकपात्रहार्यत्वम् असन्निहितेऽपि च प्रियतमप्रभृतौ तद्विषयोक्ति-  
प्रत्युक्त्यादिप्रयोगः नाट्येऽप्यकाशभाषितादौ भाणरूपके च विद्यते च । यथाह  
राहुलः—

‘परोक्षेऽपि हि वक्तव्यो नार्या प्रत्यक्षवत् प्रियः ।

सखी च नाट्यधर्मोऽयं भरतेनोदितं द्वयम् ॥” p. 172, Gaek. edn.

Another reference is in the chapter on Sāmānyābhinaya and Vaiśika. Vol. III, Mad. Ms.

“तेन मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनामपि गत्याचार्यराहुलादिभि-  
रभिधानं विरुद्धमित्यलं बहुना ।” p. 38.

Here the word गत्याचार्य is evidently a mistake for शाक्याचार्य. Rāhula, as can be seen from his name, is a Buddha. Further this passage with a slight change is reproduced by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, where we have the correct word शाक्याचार्य.

“शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलङ्कारा-  
नाचक्षते । तेऽस्माभिः भरतमतानुसारिभिरुपेक्षिताः ।” p. 316, K.M. edn.

1. This may refer to poet Śrī Harṣa, who in his *Naiṣadha*, Canto VII, Śrī. 36, describes Damayanti's nose as cupid's quiver—Kāmatūṇa.



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Bharata gives a list of Alaṅkāras of damsels, Bhāva, Hāva etc., three Aṅgajas, ten Svabhāvajas and seven Ayatnajas, on the whole twenty. Chap. XXIX. Bharata. Hemacandra, pp. 308-316. Besides these twenty, मौग्ध्य, मद, भाविकत्व, परितपन etc., are also considered as Alaṅkāras of women by Rāhula and others of his school. The Buddhist monks contributed much to Alaṅkāra also. There is a work on Pornography by another Buddhist monk called Padma Śrī. The work is called नागरसर्वस्वम्. In these works, they have a slightly different Sampradāya on some subjects of which one is the Alaṅkāras of women. Hemacandra follows Bharata and gives only 20 Alaṅkāras. In Padma Śrī's Nāgarasarvasva, we have these sixteen Alaṅkāras.

हेलाविच्छित्तिविम्बोककिलकिञ्चित्तिविभ्रमाः ।

लीला विलासो हावश्च विक्षेपो विकृतं मदः ॥

मोहायितं कुट्टमितं मौग्ध्यं च तपनं तथा ।

ललितं चेत्यमी हावाः चेष्टाः शृङ्गारसम्भवाः ॥

Chap. VII, pp. 28-40.

Of these, those not given by Bharata and consequently not found in standard works are four, विक्षेपः, मदः, मौग्ध्यं and तपनम्. The last three are attributed to Rāhula by Abhinavagupta. Vikṣepa is not mentioned by Abhinava and the भाविकत्वं mentioned by him as held by Rāhula is missing in the above list. The editor of the Nāgarasarvasva, Mr. Tanusukha Rama Śarma has pointed out this peculiarity in this Tippanī on the text, has suggested that Padma Śrī might have followed Rāhula and other Buddhist Alaṅkārikas and that certain readings noted in the Sāhityadarpaṇa, Nirṇaya Sāgar edition, quote and follow Padma Śrī, who is mentioned there as शाक्यमिश्रः. The Sāhityadarpaṇa does not also give भाविकत्वं and while following Bharata, follows also Padma Śrī and other Buddhist writers who give other Alaṅkāras in addition. The Sāhityadarpaṇa on the whole gives 28 Alaṅkāras, those in addition to the 20 of Bharata being, मदः, तपनम्, मौग्ध्यम्, विक्षेपः, कुलहलम्, हसितम्, चकितं and कैलैः. The last four of these are not found in Padma Śrī. Vikṛtam in Padma Śrī is given as Vihṛtam. The last four of Viśvanātha are from Bhoja who gives these new Alaṅkāras in his Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa and the S. K. Ābharṇa. Vide S. K. Ā. pp. 478, 533, 534 and 537. While Śāradātanaṇya like



Viśvanātha follows Bhoja, Śiṅga Bhupāla refutes Bhoja for holding these. (p. 10, Bhā. Pr.; p. 57, R. A. S. Triv. edn.)

Besides Rāhula and Padma Śrī, we come to know from Padma Śrī's definition of Vikṣepa that there is another writer on Alaṅkāra of their school, Sage Kapila.

तमामनन्ति विक्षेपं मुनयः कपिलादयः ।

N. S. VII. 21.

Of Rāhula we do not know much. We see a poet called Rāhulaka in the anthology, Subhāṣitāvali. Śl. 2900. Rāhula's work on Nāṭya Śāstra is an independent treatise. Mr. R. Kavi mentions another Buddhistic writer on Nāṭya named Śinī of whom he himself does not say more. Introduction to his edn. of N. S., Gaek. series.

### MĀTRGUPTA.

Mātrgupta is a poet and writer on Nāṭya and Saṅgita. He is mentioned as an authority in music works. Mr. T. R. Cintāmaṇi has collected fragments of this writer and spoken of his date etc. in an article published in this Journal. Mātrgupta's work is in Anuṣṭubhs surveying the fields of Kāvya, Rūpaka and Saṅgita. There is only one reference to him in the Abhinavabhāratī. In the तताध्याय, on the पुष्प, a technical name in the playing of Viṇā Abhinava quotes from Mātrgupta one line.

“तथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—

‘पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितः ।’ ”

Vol. VI, p. 32.

Śāradātanaya quotes Mātrgupta's view on the nature of the plot of a Nāṭaka that it should have some उत्पाद्यांश though it is पूर्ववृत्ताश्रय.

पूर्ववृत्ताश्रयमपि किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यवस्तु च ।

विधेयं नाटकमिति मातृगुप्तेन भाषितम् ॥

p. 234, Bhā. pr. Gaek. edn.

### BHAṬṬANĀYAKA.<sup>1</sup>

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is referred to in other places besides the discussion on Rasa-realisation. Though now and then Abhinava tries to laugh at him, at, more especially, the Mīmāṃsaka in him, Abhinava quotes him often. Surely Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Hṛdaya-

<sup>1</sup> The available fragments of Bhaṭṭanāyaka have been collected by Mr. T. R. Chintamani in the J. O. R. M., Vol. I, pp. 267 ff.



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darpaṇa is a very great book, approaching in nature the Kāvya-kautūka of Tota. It is Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who introduced the concept of साधारणीकरण to explain the psychology of Rasa-realisation. In the very first chapter of the Abhinavabhāratī, there is a long Anuvāda of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's beautiful eulogy on Nāṭya, in the image of which God made this world. Abhinava quotes here, in the end, the Maṅgalāśloka of the Hṛdayadarpaṇa also.

“भट्टनायकस्तु, ‘ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना यदुदाहृतम् अविद्याविरचितं निःसारभेदग्रहे यदुदाहरणीकृतं तन्नाट्यम्, तद्वक्ष्यामि । यथा हि कल्पना-मात्रसारं तत एवानवस्थितैकरूपं क्षणेन कल्पनाशतसहस्रसहं स्वप्नादिविलक्षणमपि सुष्ठुतरां हृदयग्रहनिदानम् अत्यक्तस्वालम्बनब्रह्मकल्पनाटोपरचितं रामरावणादिचेष्टितं कुतोऽप्यभूताद्भुतवृत्त्या भाति, तथा भासमानमपि च पुमर्थोपायतामेति । तथा तादृगेव विश्वमिदमसत्यनामरूपप्रपञ्चात्मकमथ च श्रवणमननादिवशेन परमपुमर्थप्रापकमिति लोकोत्तरपरमपुरुषार्थसूचनेन शान्तरसोपक्षेपोऽयं भविष्यति, ‘स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पद्यते रसः’ इति । तदनेन पारमार्थिकं प्रयोजनमुक्तम्’ इति व्याख्यानं हृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । यदाह—

‘नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः ।

प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाट्यप्रयोगरसिको जनः ॥” pp. 4 and 5, Gaek. edn.

Just as Tota is quoted by all for his definition of प्रतिभा, कवि and काव्य, so also is Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka for his differentiation of काव्य from Śāstra and Ākhyāna. The one and a half verses of his on this subject say that Śāstra is Śabdapradhāna, Ākhyāna is Arthapradhāna and Kāvya is Vyāpārapradhāna or Abhidhāpradhāna.<sup>1</sup> Abhinava agrees with this and quotes these while explaining the concept of Lakṣaṇa, where he also speaks of Kāvya as Abhidhāpradhāna, and of Lakṣaṇa as equivalent to the complete Abhidhā of the poet. P. 383, Vol. II, Mad. Ms. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka considered Kāvya as distinguished from Śāstra and Ākhyāna, by that characteristic of the poet's expression called Bhāvakatva Vyāpāra achieved by Guṇas and Alāṅkāras. Slightly changing this Vyāpāra into one of Dhvani or Suggestion and Rasāsvāda through it,

1. Abhidhā is here used not in its restricted sense of Śakti, but in its larger and more general meaning viz., the poet's expression as a whole. Vide p. 64, Vol. VI, Part I. J. O. R. My article on Lakṣaṇa.



Abhinava can accept it when he is an exponent of Dhvani in his Locana. *Vide* p. 27, Dhv. A corollary of this view is the other dictum of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka that one enjoys a Kāvya while from Purāṇa and Veda or Śāstra, he takes instruction and injunction respectively.

“यथोक्तं त्वयैव (भट्टनायकेनैव) —

‘काव्ये रसयिता सर्वो न बोद्धा न नियोगभाक्’ इति ।”

Locana, p. 12.

Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa kavi proposes a problem that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka wrote a commentary on Bhāmaha's Kāvyaśāstra. He even seems to think that the Hṛdayadarpaṇa itself is a commentary on Bhāmaha. He relies on the following verse on Bhāmaha, written by Bhaṭṭa Gopāla in his introductory verses on the Śāstra, in his commentary on the Kāvyaśāstra.

उद्धटेनपि नम्रेण नायकेनोपललितः ।

हृद्यो भाम इव स्त्रीणामल्पास्मभोऽपि भामहः ॥ p. 2, Triv. edn.

The verse definitely mentions Nāyaka, (*i.e.*) Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka along with Udbhaṭa, whom we know, from reliable sources of information, as a commentator on Bhāmaha. Such evidences as are available in the case of Udbhaṭa are not available in the case of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. Firstly we do not hear of any other work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka except his Hṛdayadarpaṇa. And the evidence of Mahima Bhaṭṭa who says ‘अदृष्टदर्पणा मम धीः’ and of his commentator who says ‘दर्पणो हृदयदर्पणाख्यो ध्वनिध्वंसग्रन्थोऽपि’ surely point to the fact that Hṛdayadarpaṇa is an independent treatise on poetics, primarily intended to demolish the doctrine of Dhvani. If it is a commentary on Bhāmaha, there could not have been this utter lack of references to that fact in the writings of Abhinava who has often to refute Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. Further Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's evidence itself is not completely trustworthy. His ascriptions of quotations to certain writers are wrong. As for instance, on p. 277, Triv. edn. Bhaṭṭa Gopāla makes Udbhaṭa refute the Anumāna theory of Rasapratiṭi !

“तस्माद्विद्वत्प्रतीतिरिति न युक्तं वक्तुम् । यदाह उद्धटः—‘न च अनुमितमात्रतया स्थितो भावः काव्यस्य जीवितम् । अपि तु साधारण्येन प्रतिपन्नः रसनाव्यापारगोचरः । एवं रसेऽप्यवगन्तव्यम् । तत एव व्यङ्ग्या रसभावतदीभासतत्प्रशम्नाः काव्यतत्त्वविद्विरभिधीयन्ते इति ।”



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This was a very perplexing reference, until I found out the fact that Bhaṭṭa Gopāla here attributed part of Tilaka's commentary on Udbhaṭa's K. A. S. S. to Udbhaṭa himself. *Vide* p. 41, Mad. Ms. of Tilaka's commentary on the K. A. S. S. *Vide* p. 33. Gaek. edn. of this work. The above given lines are seen in Tilaka's commentary, in Varga IV, under प्रेयोऽलङ्कार. Even earlier, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla makes a similar confusion between Udbhaṭa and his commentators and attributes to Udbhaṭa the enumeration of the Vyabhicārins and Sthāyins which is really given not by Udbhaṭa but only by Pratihārendurāja and Tilaka and which are from Bharata.

But, without going so far as Mr. Kavi does, the verse of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla on Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Nāyaka can very well be explained. The verse certainly refers to Udbhaṭa and we know him as the author of the Bhāmahavivarāṇa from other sources. It certainly refers to Nāyaka, but does it mean Nāyaka as a commentator like Udbhaṭa? No. It refers to Nāyaka as one who adopted and developed Bhāmaha. This is a quite logical view. We know that the Ancients beginning with Bhāmaha held even the content of poetry as finally shedding beauty over the form only. This is the proper interpretation of the old Rasavada-lāṅkāra. Nāyaka accepted, as Abhinava says, (p. 12), that Rasa is the Ātman of poetry. But in distinguishing poetry from ordinary, Sātraic, or Purāṇic utterances, he formulated the doctrine of अभिधाप्राधान्य or व्यापारप्राधान्य. This means an emphasis on the form of poetry as its differentia. Bhāmaha gave Vakrokti as the differentia of poetry. The Abhidhā of a poet in his characteristic expression as a whole, his Vakrokti. Abhinava equates Nāyaka's Vyāpāra, (*i.e.*) expression having it and Bhāmaha's Vakrokti in his commentary on the section on Lakṣaṇas, Abhi. Bhā. Abhinava says in his Locana that the Bhāvakatvavyāpāra, which is one of the three Arśas of Kāvya Śabda as distinguished from other Śabdās, is the embellished utterance having Guṇas and Alāṅkāras pp. 68-70.

“भावकत्वमपि समुचितगुणालङ्कारपरिग्रहमस्माभिरेव वितत्य वक्ष्यते ।”  
p. 70

Thus it is most likely that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, in defining poetry and its difference from other utterances, and in expounding his idea of Abhidhāprādhānya or Vyāpāraprādhānya, drew upon, adopted, exploited and re-interpreted Bhāmaha's idea of poetry as



being characterised by Vakrokti. This is perhaps the 'उपलालन' which Bhaṭṭa Gopāla says, Nāyaka gave to Bhāmaha.

### GHANṬAKA.

We know a poet Ghaṇṭaka from the anthologies. This poet is revealed by Abhinava as a writer on Dramaturgy. He is quoted in the Daśarūpakādhyāya, on the point of the nature of the Nāyaka and Nāyikā in the drama called Nāṭikā, which type is not fully described by Bharata but is said to be derived from Nāṭaka. In making ऊह from Nāṭaka to arrive at the characteristics of a Nāṭikā, there are differences in the views of writers on the Nāyaka and the Nāyikā. Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka are quoted here after whom Ghaṇṭaka is also quoted.

“घण्टकादयस्त्वाहुः, नायको नृपतिरित्येतावन्मात्रं नाटकादावुपजीवितम्,  
न तु प्रख्यातत्वमपि । तद्भेदद्वयात् अन्ये अष्टाविति षोडश भेदा इति ।”

Vol. 11, p. 468.

How much is Nāṭikā derived from Nāṭaka? How many features of Nāṭaka are also to be adopted for Nāṭikā? On this Ghaṇṭaka expresses the opinion that only in so far as a king is the hero, does a Nāṭikā base itself on a Nāṭaka. The quality of प्रख्यातत्वं necessary for the hero of a Nāṭaka is unnecessary in the King-hero of Nāṭikā. Other writers opine that the varieties of heroes and heroines possible in a Nāṭikā are eight or sixteen. It cannot be decided whether Ghaṇṭaka wrote on Nāṭya completely or on Daśarūpa only.

### ŚAKALĪGARBHA.

From the Abhinavabhāratī on the Daśarūpakādhyāya, an up till now unknown writer on Dramaturgy is unearthed. His name is Śakalīgarbha. He is quoted along with Udbhaṭa, on the subject of Vṛttis. Both of them held new and peculiar Vṛttis. Śakalīgarbha casts away Udbhaṭa's Phalavṛtti and in its place creates a Vṛtti called आत्मसंवित्ति. He realises the need for such a Vṛtti which Udbhaṭa pointed out. But in cases like मरण, मूर्च्छा etc., instead of Udbhaṭa's फलवृत्ति or फलसंवित्ति Śakalīgarbha would call the Vṛtti as आत्मसंवित्ति. Another difference between Udbhaṭa and Śakalīgarbha is that while Udbhaṭa discards the four Vṛttis of Bharata and postulates two of his own in their place, Śakalīgarbha accepts the four of Bharata, adds one more for cases like



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मरण and thus holds five Vṛttis. Of this also I have dealt with at length in my paper on Vṛttis referred to before.

“शकलीगर्भमतानुसारिणः मूर्च्छादौ आत्मसंवित्तिलक्षणां पञ्चमीं वृत्तिम् \* \* \* \* आत्मव्यापाररूपां मन्यन्ते । तन्मतं भावानां बाह्यग्रहणस्वभावमुपपादयद्भिः भट्टलोल्लटप्रभृतिभिः पराकृतमिति न फलवृत्तिर्वा (अत्मसंवित्तिर्वा) काचिदिति चतस्र एव वृत्तयः ।” Vol. II, p. 480, Mad. Ms.

From this reference to Lollaṭa's refutation of Śakalīgarbha's view, we can make out that Śakalīgarbha came between Udbhaṭa and Lollaṭa. It is to this Śakalīgarbha's view that Śāradātanaya refers to when he says that some others recognise a fifth Vṛtti called Viśrānti. ‘विश्रान्तां(न्ति) पञ्चमीं परे ।’ p. 12, Gaek. edn. The word विश्रान्ता in the printed text of the Bhāvaprakāśa must be विश्रान्ति and it means अत्मसंवित्ति.

## PRIYĀTITHI.

Another writer on Dramaturgy like Śakalīgarbha is revealed to us on p. 537. His name is प्रियातिथि. Of him also we do not hear anything elsewhere. He is quoted while discussing the nature of ‘सैन्धव’, which is one of the ten Lāsyaṅgas.

“प्रियातिथिप्रभृतिः(तिभिः) मुनिमतोपेक्षयैव लक्षण(गं) उदाहरणं च कृतम्, न चोक्तं युक्त्या तेन किञ्चित्, इत्यसदेव ।” Vol. II, p. 537.

The definition of Saindhava given by Priyātithi does not agree with Bharata's view and hence Abhinava says that he must not be accepted.

## BHAṬṬA SUMANAS.

A writer on music called Bhaṭṭa Sumanas is quoted in the Geyādhikāra.

‘अतस्तेषां व्यवहाराय विशेषसंज्ञापि प्रयोजनमिति भट्टसुमनसा अनु (?) श्लोकत्रयस्यायं वाक्यैकवाक्यतया महता प्रबन्धेनार्थो व्याख्यातः ।’

Vol. IV, p. 32.

Bhaṭṭa Sumanas perhaps commented on the Geyādhikāra or had occasion in an independent work of his to quote the three verses of Bharata under discussion in the above reference, and comment very elaborately on the them.



## BHATTA VRDDHI.

A similar writer called Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi is also quoted in the Geyādhikāra, in the Tālādhyāya.

“केचित्तु श्रमपरिहारार्थं भोजनप्राङ्मुखतान्यायेन अदृष्टसिद्धयर्थं च शम्यातालो ध्रुवातालेषु आवृत्त्या यावत्संभवं योज्या । तथा च भट्टवृद्धिः ....दत्त (?)दि पाणित(ता)ललयमङ्गअ(पु)स्तकेषु सर्वत्र शता इति प्रस्तारो दृश्यते ।”

Vol. IV, p. 203.

This Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi is a poet and a large number of his verses are found in the Subhāṣitāvalī. One verse attributed to him there, viz., शशी दिवसधूसरः etc., is found in the Nītiśataka of Bhartṛhari.

## RUDRAṬA.

Rudraṭa, the well-known Ālaṅkārika, is a Saṅgītācārya also. Śārṅgadeva numbers him in his list.

रुद्रटो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।

He is twice mentioned in Kallinātha's commentary on the Saṅgītaratnākara, p. 82, Ānandāśrama edn. Abhinava refers once in the Geyādhikāra to one रुद्रक which evidently is a scribal error for रुद्रट.

रुद्रका(टा)दिभिस्तु एतमर्थं बु(अबु)ध्यमानैः उक्तानां (?) श्लोक-  
पाठविप्रलब्धैः सर्वत्रैव अष्टकलस्योक्तः प्रस्तारस्य वृत्तस्यादौ पृथक्भूतः  
उद्धटः \* \* \* \* \* इत्यनवेक्ष्यमेव ।”

Vol. IV, p. 332.

## BHATTA GOPĀLA.

A writer named Bhaṭṭa Gopāla is twice mentioned in the Abhinavabhāratī and he is the author of a work on Tāla, the name of the work being तालदीपिका.

“तेनायमर्थः । ध्रुवातालेऽपि गत्यनुसार्येव कलाविधिः नयविधिश्च । अत एवैतदनुसारेण भट्टलोल्लटगोपालादिभङ्गसर्वभङ्गसचे (?) तालदीपिकादौ चिरन्तनमतो ध्रुवातालानां विनियोगः प्रपञ्चतो दूषितः । तत्तु ध्रुवाध्याये विचारयिष्याम इत्यास्तां तावत् ।”

Vol. II, p. 332.

This reference is in गत्यध्याय. As promised here, he again comes to the same point in ध्रुवाध्याय.



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2. “अन्ये तु यथोचितो मार्गः यथामार्गः इति विग्रहेण सुकुमारत्वात् ध्रुवक एवात्रोह (?) इत्याहुः । यथा हि भट्टगोपालः स्वामिप्रायेण ध्रुवके विधिरिति ।”

This Bhaṭṭa Gopāla who is a predecessor of Abhinava and perhaps near to Lollaṭa's time, is thus different from Śāradātanaya's father and also from the author of the commentary, Sāhityacuḍāmaṇi on the Kāvya prakāśa.

## AṢṬĀGAMAS.

On p. 227, Vol. IV, there is this Pañkti in the Abhinavabhāratī.

“अन्ये तु श्रियमपरत्वं (?) व्याचक्षते । तच्च अष्टागमपक्षविराद्धमित्युपेक्ष्यमेव ।”

From this we can guess that in Abhinava's time 8 works on Nāṭya were considered as basic and finally authoritative works of that Śāstra. What separate works constitute this ‘authoritative eight’ is not known. It is likely that the words अष्टागम are a corruption for अस्मदागम.

Besides the above noticed writers and works clearly discernible in the text, there are some names in the Abhinavabhāratī which are lost in the broken text. Thus we have two writers :

1. A Bhaṭṭa is lost in a corrupt line on p. 188, Vol. IV. He is quoted first after the quotation of Abhinava's Parama Guru Utpaladeva. The available text gives only this much—

“भट्ट.....मनेन”

2. Similarly we miss a Datta in a line on p. 203, Vol. IV, where he is quoted along with Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi. See above under Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi.

“तथा च भट्टवृद्धित.....दत्तादि etc.”

On the four kinds Vādyā, there is this passage in one place :

“चातुर्विध्यं सूर्योक्तमेव स्मारयति । तद(तं) तन्त्रीगतं (Bh. xxviii. 2) इत्यादि ।” Vol. III, p. 95.

There is no improbability in Sūrya being one in the pantheon of Saṅgītācāryas. But, I think in the above passage, there is no mention of any writer. सूर्योक्तं is evidently a corruption for पूर्वोक्तम्.



In Vol. III, on p. 20, Abhinava refers to Viśvakarman's work while speaking of the nature of the महेन्द्रध्वज or जर्जर.

“तस्मान्नाट्योपयोगरूपमूहापोहाभ्यां कर्तव्यमिति । लक्षणानीति ।  
विश्वकर्मत्वे (मते) बहुभेदं महेन्द्रध्वजस्य लक्षणमुक्तमित्यर्थः ।”

On the next page also, the word ‘महात्मना’ in Bharata is interpreted by Abhinava as ‘विश्वकर्मणा’. These references occur in the chapter on Āhāryābhinaya and other stage equipments like Jar-jara. The first reference at least seems to refer to some definite Śilpa work attributed to the name of Viśvakarman and which work spoke also of the making of the stage and of the other stage sundries.

These are the writers on Alaṅkāra, Daśarūpaka, Nāṭya and Saṅgīta who are quoted by Abhinava in his Abhinavabhāratī. Before we go to writers on other subjects quoted by him, we must discuss Abhinava with reference to Kuntaka and the concept of Vakrokti. Dr. S.K. De says in his introduction to the Vakrokti-Jīvita that “Kuntaka was thus probably a younger contemporary of Abhinava, or a contemporary who might have been unknown or not yet sufficiently recognised in the schools.” Dr. Śaṅkaran discusses the question of Kuntaka's date on p. 119 of his ‘Theories of Rasa and Dhvani, and points out there that there is passage in the Abhinavabhāratī which seems to refer to Kuntaka only or to those whose ideas found an exponent in Kuntaka. The said passage occurs in the commentary on the fourteenth chapter, wherefrom begins Vācikābhinaya. The Abhinavabhāratī on this chapter devotes the first section to criticising the theory of स्वशब्दवाच्यत्व of Rasa. The next section is what we are concerned here with. The text here is very bad and it is a pity we are not able to reproduce large extracts from it. From this section we can have an idea of what Abhinava thought of the concept of Vakrokti. In the Locana, in the first Uddyota commenting on Manoratha's verse, Abhinava interprets वक्रोक्ति as उत्कृष्टा संघटना. In the third Uddyota he takes Vakrokti as the general name of all Alaṅkāras. In the Abhinavabhāratī, while dealing with the concept of Lakṣaṇa, Abhinava considers Vakrokti as equal to Lakṣaṇa, Gumpha, Phaṇiti and Kavivṛyāpāra, as has been explained in my paper on Lakṣaṇa published in Vol. VI, Part I of this journal. In the Abhinavabhāratī on Chapter 14, he says that



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poetry is pervaded by ten kinds of Vaicitrya, resting in the ten kinds of Śabda. Śabdas are given as of ten kinds by Bharata.

नामाख्यातोपसर्गहिततद्धितनिपातसमासः ।

सन्धिविभक्तिनियुक्तो विज्ञेयो वाचिकाभिनयः ॥

These ten kinds of words forming the Vācika, Abhinava opines, must be Vicitra if they are to be poetic. Thus poetry has ten kinds of वैचित्र्य. The number ten, to accord with which the text of Bharata was reconstructed, is proved by the following line in the Abhinavabhāratī.

“इत्येवं दशभिरङ्गैः युक्तं कविना वाचिकशब्दनिष्ठो व्यवहारः \* \* \* ॥”

Vol. II, p. 367.

The two bits ending with समासः and नियुक्तः govern वाचिकाभिनयः, the last word and the Samāsa is given by Abhinava as मत्वर्थीय अच्. At the end of the commentary on the first line he says—मत्वर्थीये च (मत्वर्थे अच्) p. 366. At the end of his commentary on the second bit he says पूर्ववदत्रापि द्वन्द्वान्मत्वर्थीयः (अच्) ॥” p. 367.

Then Abhinava takes the ten kinds of words one by one and explains and illustrates the Vaicitrya of each. As much as can be here quoted are given.<sup>1</sup> The first is नामवैचित्र्य —

“नाम यथा मदनरिपुरिति भगवत्पर्यायश्च एतदीयशृङ्गारवर्तने प्रयोज्यं (न प्रयोज्यः) ॥”

p. 365.

2. The next, Ākhyāta, is taken by Abhinava to refer only to वर्तमानकाल etc., to the Lakāras on the Dhātus.

“आख्यातमपि यद्वैचित्र्यमाह—[किं] “स्मरसि स्मरमेखलागुणैः ॥”

(Kumāra.) p. 365.

“इति वर्तमानप्रत्ययेन तत्साक्षात्कारेण उपालम्भविषयतात्वमेवात्र

\* \* ॥” The Pratyudāharana also is given by him.

“अन्यथा ‘स्मृतवानिति मेखलागुणैः’ इति स्यात् ॥”

p. 365.

1. The verse as printed in the Kāsi edn. p. 169, Chap. XV. Sl. 4 gives only nine kinds of words. The verse given above by me was reconstructed according to the Abhinavabhāratī by my Professor M. M. U. Prof. S. Kuppasvami Sastriyar.



3. The Upasarga is divided by Abhinava into two classes, प्रकृतार्थयोगि and अर्थेन अधिकद्योतक. For the former he gives 'निर्मितः' as illustration.

“उपसर्गात् प्रकृतार्थयोगिनो यथा, निर्मित इति ।”

अर्थेन अधित (क) द्योतकौ (को) यथा ‘मुद्गरुपचितैर्दृष्टिरालिप्यते’  
(Megha) इति ।” p. 365.

In Upasargas he includes the कर्मप्रवचनीय also such as प्रति.

उपसर्गैः कर्मप्रवचनीया अपि लक्ष्यन्ते, ‘किं स्यात् दुर्जनतः प्रति’  
इति च ।” p. 365.

4. The fourth word is हित. It is taken as indicative of प्रत्यय other than the तद्धितप्रत्ययः.

“विचितमिति (हितमिति) तद्धित(अतद्धित)प्रत्ययोपलक्षणम् ।”

The example for the Vaicitrya of Hita is thus given.

“मीमांसक इति (मीमांसते) हृदयमात्मन एव बाला  
नाम्ना विमानकलना सहते न जातु ।”

Here मीमांसते is an example of नामधातुवैचित्र्य. The प्रत्युदाहरण is also given : “ननु (न तु) ‘चित्तं विचारयति ना (सा) त्मन एव’ इति ।”  
p. 365.

“एवं सुब्धातुप्रत्ययपदं न तल्लकृत्सु (पदान्तरेषु लकृत्सु) वाच्यम्,  
गौरवभयात् नोदाहृतम् ।” p. 365.

Within Hita, Abhinava includes the तिङ् upon a नामधातु, कृत् and the स्त्रीप्रत्यय. He illustrates the वैचित्र्य caused by a use of a word in the feminine gender.

“स्त्रीप्रत्ययो यथा, ‘अध्यासीनः स वैदग्धी \* \* \* न तु  
वैदग्धी(गध्य)मिति । स्त्रीप्रत्ययेन सौभाग्यातिशयप्रतीतैः(तिः) ।” p. 366.

5. The fifth is Taddhitas and the Vaicitrya resulting from तद्धितप्रयोगः is thus illustrated :

“तद्धितैः(ताः) ‘शात्रवं व पपुर्यताः’ इति । ननु (न तु) शत्रूणां  
चे(वे)ति ।” p. 366.

6. “निपाताः यथा—‘हहहा हा देवि धीरा भव ।’ आः किमत्र  
किरतैः \* \* \* ।” p. 366.



## WRITERS QUOTED IN THE ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ 221

7. “ \* \* समासः यथा ‘मध्येगङ्गायमुनममुना’ इति । ननु (न तु) ‘मध्ये गङ्गारचितनयनयोः (रवितनययोः)’ इति । एवं समासान्तरेषु वाच्यम् ।” p. 366.

8. “सन्धिः द्विधा, नैरन्तर्यं रूप (or उप) श्लेषश्च ।”

The example given for the former is ‘असिलता तत्रास्थिरा’ and for the latter ‘सूत्रं ब्राह्मं etc’. In the case of the latter he takes it as identical with the Śabdaguṇa called Śleṣa in Vāmana. He interprets this as एकपदवद्भाव and illustrates the same verse as given Vāmana, सूत्रं ब्राह्ममुत्स्थले etc.

9. विभक्तयः. The vibhakti is taken by Abhinava to include सुप्, तिङ्, वचन, कारकशक्तिस and उपग्रहः (i.e.) Atmane and Paramai Padas.

विभक्तयः सुप्तड्वचनानि, तैः कारकशक्तयोऽपि सरन्ति (?) उपग्रहाश्चोपलक्ष्यन्ते । यथा पाण्डिन्नि मग्नं वपुः ।” p. 366.

“ननु (न तु) ‘पाण्डुस्वभावं वपुः’ । एवं कारकान्तरेषु वाच्यम् ।” Do. वचनं यथा ‘पाण्डवा यस्य दासाः’ । \* \* \* तथा वैचित्र्येण ‘त्वं हि रामस्य दाराः’ ।”

किं (तिङ्) यथा ‘कीर्तिस्तव श्वेता (श्वेतते)’ ननु (न तु) श्वेतं यशस्तावत् (तावकम्) ।’ उपग्रहं—कुर्वाणो (कुर्वन्ति) भुजशालिनो (तां) । ननु (न तु) कुर्वते भुजशालित्वम् । pp. 366. and 367.

10. The last is नियुक्त which means धातु. It is thus interpreted by Abhinava.

“नियुज्यते क्रियायामिति युक्तो (नियुक्तो) (धातुः) । धातुवैचित्र्यं (यथा) व्रस्तं (ग्रस्तं) कुलान्ते जगतः ।’ ननु (न तु) ‘भुक्तम्’ ” p. 367.

Every kind of word is thus to be used so that it may impart special beauty and significance. The Vaicitrya of poetry is thus of ten kinds. Closing this section Abhinava reconciles Ānandavardhana’s Dhvani to such a view.

एतदेवोपजीव्य आनन्दवर्धनाचार्येण उक्तम् सुप्तिङ्वचनेत्यादि । (Dhva. III, 16, p. 153.) अन्यैरपि सुबादि वक्रतेति ।’ Vol. II, p. 367.



Ānandavardhana pointed out from the point of view of Dhvani that in a verse the विभक्ति, वचन etc. may have Dhvani. It is only another way of saying it when it is said that there is Vaicitryā in सुप्, तिङ् etc. Abhinava has used here the word वैचित्र्य to mean striking beauty. It is the same as the Vakrokti which is Kuntaka's thesis. Abhinava shows here an acquaintance with a school of critics who explained everything as a kind of Vakrokti. He has not only shown some items of Vakrokti found in Kuntaka but has shown others also such as सन्धिवैचित्र्य. Abhinava here does not follow or adopt any school but shows generally how in poetry every word has to be विचित्र, how the same thing was said under a different name by Ānandavardhana and indirectly also suggests that those who developed Vakrokti discovered nothing new but only adopted a different phraseology. This he means when he says "अन्यैरपि सुवादिवक्त्रेति ।" Here the अन्य is either a clear reference to Kuntaka who had written his book by the time of the writing of the Abhinavabhāratī or a reference to those whose ideas of Vakrokti were formulated into a theory by Kuntaka. The concept of Vakrokti had a great destiny and was ruling long in Kāśmīrian Kavya-gosṭhis. Many were acquainted with वक्रोक्तिप्रकारः in a Kāva and it is likely that what Kuntaka did in addition was to apply that same concept fruitfully to Prakaraṇa and Prabandha.

Coming to the writers on other subjects quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī—on Prosody which forms a chapter in Bharata, Abhinava quotes three old writers—Jayadeva, Kātyāyana and Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara. Jayadeva is quoted on p. 370, Vol. II.

सर्वेषां वृत्तानाम् इत्यादौ अर्थसमासेन जयदेवोऽभ्यधात् ।

Who this Jayadeva is, is not known. He is twice mentioned as a writer on Prosody by Namisādhū in his Tīkā on Rudraṭa. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara quotes Jayadeva and his definition of the Upacitrā metre. Jayadeva is twice quoted in Rāmacandra Budhendra's commentary, Pañcikā, on the Vṛttaratnākara.

11. Kātyāyana is the second writer on Prosody quoted by Abhinava. He is quoted on the metres for the various emotional situations and on the metres favoured in various countries.



## WRITERS QUOTED IN THE ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ 223

“यथोक्तं कात्यायनेन—

‘वीरस्य भुजदण्डानां वर्णने स्रग्धरा भवेत् ।

नायिकावर्णने कार्यं वसन्ततिलकादिकम् ॥

शार्दूललीला प्राच्येषु मन्दाक्रान्ता च दक्षिणे ।’ ”

Vol. II, p. 370.

III. The third writer on Prosody is quoted at the end of the work in some connection:

“यथा शङ्करभक्तिशालिना भट्टशङ्करेण अर्धसमवृत्तप्रकरणे प्रदर्शितम् ।”

Vol. IV, p. 219.

This Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara seems to be a Śaivācārya like Abhinava. A Śaiva called Śaṅkarakaṇṭha is known to us as the father of Ratnakaṇṭha, the author of स्तुतिकुसुमाञ्जलिटीका. Aufrecht mentions two more Śaṅkaras, one, son of Ratnākara and commentator on मैहिस्रस्तोत्र and another, writer on prosody called शङ्करशर्मन् who wrote a work on metrics called वृत्तमुक्तावली. Mr. R. Kavi is of opinion that the Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara quoted by Abhinava is a commentator on Chandoviciti.

In the chapter on the Prākṛt, Abhinava mentions three works on Prākṛt grammar, प्राकृतदीपिका, सूत्रवृत्ति, and पद्धति and one writer on Prākṛt grammar called उत्पल.

“विस्तरविजिज्ञासुः प्राकृतदीपिकादिकमवलोकयेत् । उत्पलविरचितायां सूत्रवृत्तौ पद्धतौ च ।”

Vol. II, p. 423.

The author of the Prākṛtadīpikā is not given and Utpala, whose identity is not known, is given as the author of the two works on Prākṛt grammar, सूत्रवृत्ति and पद्धति. A grammarian Utpala is said to be quoted in the Nyāsa on Hemacandra's Bṛhad Vṛtti (Aufrecht).



## VIJAYA KAMPAVARMAN

BY

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Dr. Hultsch, while editing four inscriptions from Śolapuram, made the following remarks concerning the place of Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman in Pallava genealogy:—" . . . he was perhaps a son of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and hence belonged to the ninth century of the Christian era."<sup>2</sup> "Nandikampīśvara must have been the ancient name of the temple of Īśvara (Śiva) on which this inscription is engraved. As no other Śiva temple exists at Śolapuram, it may be also identified with the Īśvara temple that was founded during the reign of Vijaya-Kampa according to the inscription A., and the Nandi-Kampa, after whom the Nandikampīśvara temple was called, may be identical with Vijaya-Kampa. As the alphabet of the inscriptions of Vijaya-Kampa, Kampavarman or Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman resembles that of the inscriptions of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and Vijaya-Nṛpaṭuṅgavikramavarman, I feel tempted to explain Nandi-Kampa by 'Kampa, the son of Nandi,' and to assume that Kampavarman was a son of Nandivikramavarman and a brother of Nṛpaṭuṅgavikramavarman."<sup>3</sup> Subsequent writers have not added much to our knowledge on this subject. Mr. Gopalan makes in his *Pallavas* (p. 142) the following remarks: "It is presumed that Kampavarman and Īśvaravarman as well as the other chiefs such as Vayirameghan, whose inscriptions have been discovered at Kāveripākkam, Uṭṭaramallūr, Olakkūr and other parts of the Chingleput District, enjoyed the rule of a part of the Pallava dominions along with Vayirameghavarman". The latest contribution on this subject

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1. *E. I.*, VII, pp. 192-7.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 196.



is from Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, who, while editing three Tamil inscriptions from Lālgudi<sup>1</sup> discusses the place of Kampavarman also at length. He accepts Dr. Hultsch's suggestion and assumes that Kampavarman was another, and perhaps the younger son of Nandivarman III, that Nandivarman III might have also married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhāravarṣa Dhruva, and the name Kampavarman, just like Nṛpatuṅga, might have been derived from Kambha, the maternal grand-father of Kampavarman. His remarks in determining the period of Kampavarman are: "It may be pointed out here that both the palaeographical peculiarities of Kampavarman's epigraphs and the genealogy furnished by the Velūrpālayam and Bāhūr plates do not admit of any place for him before Nṛpatuṅga. Nor can he be the immediate successor or Nṛpatuṅga. Therefore Kampavarman must have been a joint ruler with either Nṛpatuṅga or Aparājita or with both"<sup>2</sup>. Then he proves that Aparājita was the immediate successor of Nṛpatuṅga<sup>3</sup>, that he was the last Pallava ruler of Kāñcī and that the Cola Āditya I, whose date of accession he determines on astronomical calculations<sup>4</sup> to be 871 A. D., killed him in about 888 A. D. and extended his territory into Toṇḍai-nāḍu<sup>5</sup>. The dates that he assigns to the later Pallava kings are as follows<sup>6</sup>:—

Nandivarman Pallavamalla	(ruled for 65 years)—696-761 A.D.
Dantivarman	(ruled for 52 years)—761-812 A.D.
Nandivarman III	( " " 22 " )—812-844 "
Nṛpatuṅga	( " " 26 " )—844-870 "
Aparājita	( " " 18 " )—870-888 ,*

In the light of the results arrived at by the writers referred above it would seem that Kampavarman or Vijaya-Kampavarman or Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman was born to Nandivarman III

1. *E. I.*, xx, pp. 46—51.

2. *Ibid.* p. 48-9.

3. *Ibid.* p. 49.

4. *E. I.*, xix, p. 81.

5. *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 89, p. 221.

6. *E. I.*, xx, pp. 49-50.

\* My friend, Mr. M. S. Sarma, will shortly publish a paper revising the dates given here.



before 844 A.D., the last year of the latter's reign, and that he was a 'joint ruler with either Nṛpatuṅga or Aparājita or with both'. If he were a joint ruler with both he should be expected to have also undergone the fate that befell Aparājita in 888 A.D., when Āditya I killed the latter in battle and took possession of his country<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand we find no mention of him in the campaigns of Āditya who had to encounter only Aparājita; this would mean that Kampavarman was not living in 888 A. D., and that he had evidently predeceased Aparājita. To say that he was a joint ruler with Nṛpatuṅga alone would mean that Kampavarman cannot be brought later than 870 A. D., the last year assigned to Nṛpatuṅga by Mr. K. V. S. Iyer. And to say that he was a joint ruler with Aparājita alone would mean that as the second son of Nandivarman III and the younger brother of Nṛpatuṅga, who evidently died childless, he succeeded Nṛpatuṅga in about 870 A. D. In that case Aparājita was a rival of his to the Pallava throne. But it is strange that Āditya, the conqueror of the Pallava dominions, speaks of Aparājita alone as his foe, which would be the case if Kampavarman had predeceased Aparājita. In short the calculations of Mr. K. V. S. Iyer do not give room for the possibility of Kampavarman being brought to a period later than 840-888 A. D., or to speak in round figures later than 890 A. D.

It shall be our endeavour to show here, of course basing our views on the excellent results arrived at by Mr. K. V. S. Iyer, in the light of a few stone inscriptions, that it is possible to bring Kampavarman to the tenth century and to assign him roughly a period between 907-933 A. D.

Out of a horad of inscriptions and materials available on the subject<sup>3</sup> a few may be singled out here for a detailed examina-

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1. *E. I.*, xx, pp. 48-9,
  2. *S.I.I.*, iii, p. 396, verse 49, 11. 97-8; *E.I.*, xviii, p. 42, verse 55.
  3. M. E. Collection nos. 24, 26 of 1893, 251 of 1894, 399 of 1896, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 42, 64, 65, 84, 85, 90 of 1898, 207-8 of 1901, D. 372, D. 374, of 1901-2, 172, 183-4, 429 of 1902, 356 of 1903, 391, 398 of 1905, 345 of 1906, 371-2 of 1911, 104, 126-7, 132, 174, 181, 189, 206, 253 of 1912, 236 of 1913, 283 of 1919, 159 of 1921; *M. E. R.*, 1926, p. 100; *E. I.*, vii, pp. 192-7, xix, p. 81, xx, pp. 46-51, xviii, p. 23; *S. I.*, iii, no. 44, ii, no. 20, v, no. 1354; *Romb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 207, 210, 305, 332, 420-2; *Mys. Gaz.* 1930, Vol. II, pt. II. pp. 753-9.



tion<sup>1</sup>, most of which come from the Ādhipurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr, Saidapet Taluk, Chingleput District. Tiruvorriyūr was a place of great religious sanctity mentioned in the Tēvāram and the Śiva temple in it appears to have attracted several kings to it. From lithic records we learn that the later Pallavas, the Colas and the Vijayanagar monarchs were attracted to the place and recorded many of their donations to the temple on its walls and slabs. Many of these records speak of some of these kings as attending the temple festivals<sup>2</sup>.

No. 372 of 1911 is a record in Tamil of Vijaya-Kampavarman dated in the 19th year of his reign and registers a gift of land by an ascetic called Nirañjana Guravar (*i.e. guru*) of Tiruvorriyūr to the temple of Mahādeva (Śiva) built by the *guru* himself and named after his own name as Nirañjaneśvaram. The god was called "Nirañjaneśvarattu-Mahādevan." It is said that the assembly of Mañali sold the land to the *guru*. The temple is evidently the modern Ādhipurīśvara temple. Tiruvorriyūr was, according to tradition, one of the earliest of religious centres to come under the influence of Śaṅkarācārya's teachings and a hierarchy of ascetics or saṁnyāsins in the order of *guru* and *śiṣya* appears to have been created since then. The doctrine of Soma-siddhānta or Kāpālika Śaivism found for a long time a congenial home at Tiruvorriyūr and the temple of Śiva there had a regular institution to expound such a despised form of religion. Śaṅkara, it is said, effectively put a stop to the evil practices of this form (which must have included the Śakti worship in some form or other) not only at Tiruvorriyūr but throughout India wherever it was so observed, "and this event is even now gratefully remembered at Tiruvorriyūr in the story that Śaṅkarācārya personally went there and securing the vital energy of an evil goddess who was then swallowing everything that came in her way, threw it into a well (pointed out even now) and closed its mouth with a huge slab. The goddess became powerless and thence forward assumed a calm countenance. Still,

1. M. E. Collection nos. 371 and 372 of 1911, 104, 126, 181, 206 of 1912, 399 of 1896, 283 of 1919, 236 of 1913, 159 of 1921 and M. E. R., 1926. p. 100.

2. For details regarding the great religious and historical importance of this place, together with its temples, maṭhas, pavilions, maṇḍapas etc., the reader is referred to M. E. R., 1912, pp. 67-68; and *ibid*, 1913, pp. 85-7.



once in the year, by way of compromise as it were, the orgiastic rites are observed and the terrible and all-swallowing spirit is believed to be appeased. Śaṅkarācārya too, as a benefactor, is immortalized by a statue placed in the temple and receives regular worship. . ."<sup>1</sup> In all probability the order of saṁnyāsins and gurus including our Nirañjana-guru, was created to stem the evil effects of this Soma-siddhānta and probably owes its origin to the famous reformer Śaṅkara himself, who is said to have created episcopal orders in proper centres as for instance Kāñcīpuram to stem the progress of Buddhism, Jainism and other alien faiths and despised forms of religion such as Soma-siddhānta etc.

The inscription can be said to prove that Nirañjana-guru and Vijaya-Kampavarman were contemporaries. As regards the exact period when this guru lived the late Rai Bahadur Krishna Sastri remarked that he "flourished about the ninth century A.D."<sup>2</sup>. His time can however be determined with a certain amount of exactitude by a reference to the inscriptions of his śiṣya, Caturānana-Paṇḍita by name, who appears to have been more popular than his guru at least so far as Tiruvorriyūr was concerned. Inscription No. 181 of 1912, also from Tiruvorriyūr, is dated in the 20th year of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kaṇṇaradeva-Kṛṣṇa III (938-966 A. D.) and records a gift of money (100 niṣkas of gold) by Caturānana-Paṇḍita, the pupil of Nirañjana-guru, for providing a special worship (*balī*) in the temple at Tiruvorriyūr on the day of Dhaniṣṭhā—the asterism under which he was born. This record is written in Grantha and Tamil, the Tamil portion comprising the gift specified above and the Grantha part containing a few Sanskrit verses detailing the early career of Caturānana-Paṇḍita. This account is of great historical interest and is of particular use to us for our study; hence a gist of it as found in the Epigraphy report for 1913<sup>3</sup>, is given here.

"He was apparently of Kerala origin and a favourite of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Vallabha (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa III). Having acquired in his younger days sufficient knowledge of all sciences, he is stated to have come to the Cola country and to have become an intimate friend and subordinate of King Rājāditya. Though he was always near that king, he did not, however die with him in

1. *M. E. R.*, 1912, p. 68.

2. *M. E. R.*, 1913, p. 86.

3. *P.* 93.



the battle-field. Aggrieved that he had thus 'done a deed inconsistent with the nature of his caste, family, father and master', Caturānana resigned the world, bathed in the waters of the Ganges, entered the order of saṁnyāsins at Ādhigrama (i.e. Tiruvorriyūr) receiving initiation (*vrata*) at the hands of Nirañjana-guru and thereafter, becoming the chief of that maṭha, greatly improved the temple." The late Krishna Sastri thought that the story, rightly interpreted, is a reflection on the moral rectitude of the times and that it proves the strategic attack on the life of Rājāditya supposed to have been made by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, with the dishonourable help given by Caturānana-Paṇḍita—perhaps as his spy (?). This narrative of his life history in an inscription set up by himself, appears to imply remorse on the part of Caturānana for some great sin of his. Even if he had not been the spy that Krishna Sastri suggests, he should have come very near it to discard worldly life and become a saṁnyāsin. That he was from the Kerala country and that he had eventually become the benefactor of the temple account "perhaps for the still-existing practice of a Kerala (Malabar) Brāhman worshipping in that temple and of Śaṁkarācārya (also a native of Malabar) receiving special honours. It is not even impossible that the image, now worshipped as Śaṁkarācārya, may be one of Caturānana-Paṇḍita himself.<sup>1</sup>

That Caturānana was a favourite of Kṛṣṇa III is proved by this record being dated in the 20th year of that king's reign and by the narrative contained in the prefatory verses. That Kṛṣṇa followed the policy laid down by Cāṇakya in the Arthaśāstra (Ch. XIV) in the matter of winning over friends, subordinates and vassals of foreign kings will be apparent from his relations with the Bāṇa Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III, with the Vaidumba and the Gaṅgas<sup>2</sup>. And Kṛṣṇa, the mighty invader of the south as he was, appears to have united these minor powers by marriage ties and the like<sup>3</sup> so that they can help him against the imperial power of the south, the Cola.

That Takkolam is the battlefield referred to here is apparent, for, according to the Āṭakur inscription, Rājāditya is said to have

1. *M. E. R.*, 1913, p. 94.
2. *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, pt. IV, pp. 309-310.
3. His wife was a Gaṅga princess, Gaṅgamādevī and his brother-in-law the Gaṅga Būtuga—see *M. E. R.* 1908, no. 65 of App. B.



been killed at Takkolam near Arkoṇam, North Arcot Dt., in Śaka 872 (949—50 A. D.), by Būtuga, the Gaṅga feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III, who 'undauntedly mounted the elephant on which Rājāditya was seated, and engaging him in hand to hand fight in the howdah itself, stabbed him with a dagger and thus killed him'.<sup>1</sup> The exact year in which this battle is said to have taken place is determined by a record from Śolapuram<sup>2</sup> in which Śaka 871 (949 A. D.) or the second year of the reign of Rājāditya is given as the date in which 'the emperor Kaṇṇaradeva-Vallabha having pierced Rājāditya entered Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam'. From about 950 to 963 A.D., there was no Cola supremacy in the Arcot and Chingleput districts or rather in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam which Kṛṣṇa conquered; Kṛṣṇa was then the master of this territory and retained possession of it till 963 A. D. as evidenced by numerous records of his found therein<sup>3</sup>. In a record dated 938 A. D. one Māciyarasa is said to be governing in this year the province of Banavāsi on behalf of Kṛṣṇa III<sup>4</sup>. That he ruled for 28 years is attested by a record from Kāvaṇūr, North Arcot district<sup>5</sup> while another record from Kīlūr gives him 30 years<sup>6</sup>. A third record<sup>7</sup> states that he died in Śaka 889 Kṣaya (966-7 A. D.) and that Khoṭṭiga succeeded him in the same year. Relying on the record from Kīlūr which gives him a rule of 30 years we can put Kṛṣṇa's rule between 937—966-7 A. D. The battle of Takkolam (949 A. D.) should then have taken place in the twelfth year of his reign and not in the tenth<sup>8</sup>.

The turning point in the career of Caturānana was the battle at Takkolam (949 A. D.). Aggrieved that his action cost the life of his 'master' who was Rājāditya, he got rather prematurely the spirit of dissociation (*vairāgya*), resigned the world and bathed in the waters of the Ganges for expiation of the sin committed. Allowing two years for his sojourn to Ganges on a mission of expiation we find him in 951 A. D. an ascetic that had renounced

1. *E. I.*, vi, p. 51.

2. *E. I.*, vii, p. 194.

3. *M. E. R.*, 1926, p. 100; nos. 232 of 1902, 236 of 1913, and 47 of 1925.

4. *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 758.

5. *M. E. Coll.*, no. 159 of 1921.

6. *M. E. R.*, 1926, p. 100.

7. *M. E. Coll.*, no. 236 of 1913.

8. *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 755.



everything. As renunciation was the key-note of Saṁnyāsa, the fourth stage (*āśrama*) in the life of every twice-born (*dvija*) he hunts for a guru who would give him initiation (*dīkṣā*). The maṭha at Tiruvorriyūr or Ādhigrāma being then famous with Nirañjana-guru at its head, he is admitted into the order of saṁnyāsins at Ādhigrāma by Nirañjana after due ceremony. Some time later he becomes the chief of that maṭha, in other words he succeeds Nirañjana as the head of the order of saṁnyāsins. If it is remembered that Nirañjana was mainly associated with the temple and that Caturānana, after he became the maṭhādhipati, "greatly improved the temple" probably by virtue of his political influence at Kṛṣṇa's court, and that succession in any episcopal or religious order follows the death of the previous incumbent it may be conceded in the case of Caturānana that he became the chief of the maṭha because Nirañjana had died. No better man can be thought of to succeed him than Caturānana—he was himself a great personality with much influence at the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court, was sincere, detached to worldly life and above all was himself a native of Malabar, the land to which the famous Śaṁkara who had much to do with Tiruvorriyūr, as we saw already, also belonged.

We know that Caturānana became a saṁnyāsin even as a youth. How long did he live? The answer to this question is supplied by another record, also from Tiruvorriyūr<sup>1</sup> which records that the vimāna (*i. e.* the central shrine) of the temple was 'constructed of black granite . . . by the architect Ravi surnamed Vira-Cola-takṣan in three tiers with caraṇas, toraṇas, kūṭas, koṣṭas, nīvas (big and small), lion faces and nāsikas" at the bidding of Caturānana, the pupil of Nirañjana-guravar, and under the auspices of Rājendra Cola I (1012—1044 A. D.). The late Krishna Sastri comments on this inscription thus :—"It remains to add . . . that Caturānana-Paṇḍita, the pupil of Nirañjana-guravar, who flourished about the 9th century A. D., substantially improved the temple. Under his direct supervision and with the patronage of King Rājendra-Cola I (A. D. 1012 to at least 1042) was built the now-existing central shrine (*vimāna*) of the temple."<sup>2</sup> (N<sup>o</sup>. 126 of App. B.) This inscription makes Caturānana also contemporaneous with Rājendra I, and indicates that

1. No. 126 of 1912.

2. *M. E. R.* 1913, p. 86.



he should have lived for a long time. If he were 20 in 949 A. D. when the battle of Takkolam took place he should be 83 in 1012 A. D., the date of Rājendra's accession.

There are three other records from the same temple speaking of a Caturānana Paṇḍita as the maṭhādhipati.<sup>1</sup> A fourth record<sup>2</sup> speaking of a Caturānana Paṇḍita is the same as No. 104 of 1912. That these records speak of two different Caturānanas, evidently successors of our Caturānana in the maṭha at Tiruvorriyūr, will become apparent as we shall examine now.

No. 104 of 1912 is a record of Parakesarivarman Uḍaiyar Śrī Rājendra Coladeva I (1012—1044 A. D.) and is dated in the 31st year of his reign, *i.e.* 1043 A. D. It records the gift of 150 kāṣu by Caturānana-Paṇḍita of Tiruvorriyūr for bathing the god Mahādeva of that place with clarified butter on the birthday festival of the king which fell on the asterism Tiruvātirai in the month of Mārkaḷi. This festival which commenced with Ārdrā in the month of Mārkaḷi each year was an important festival of the temple and was called Rājendra Colan-Tirunāl, either in honour of the king or on account of the coincidence of the nakṣatra with that of his birthday, more probably the latter. We can hardly expect our Caturānana who was already 83 when Rājendra commenced his rule (1012) to live on till the date of this grant (1043 A. D.) which would mean that he lived for 113 years. Surely this is a later Caturānana, probably the successor of our Caturānana, who was named so after he had been initiated into the order of the maṭha of the saṁnyāsins, in accordance with the convention of naming the incumbents with names like Sarasvatī, Bhārati, etc. known to religious orders of India. Thus it will be seen that Caturānana was an episcopal title rather than an individual name. The maṭha is mentioned in this record as "Tirumayānam maṭam" of which Caturānana was the head, and poet Kamban refers to this maṭha in one of his stray verses.<sup>3</sup>

Inscriptions, nos. 371 of 1911 and 206 of 1912 speak of a still later Caturānana-Paṇḍita who was a contemporary of the Cola Rājakesarivarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājādhirājadeva

1. *M. E. Coll.* Nos. 371 of 1911, 104 of 1912, and 206 of 1912.
2. No. 399 of 1896;—See *S. I. I.* Vol. V, no. 1354, pp. 491—2.
3. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presy.*, vol. I, p. 434, no. 973.



II (1172—86 A. D.). Both are dated in the 9th year of that king. In the former the king is said to have personally attended the Paṅkūṇi-uttiram festival in the temple of Padambakka-Nāyaka-deva, *i. e.*, the shrine of Ādhipurīśvara, at Tiruvorriyūr<sup>1</sup> on which occasion were also present Caturānana-Paṇḍita who owned a maṭha in the temple and Vāgīśvara-Paṇḍita, who expounded the Soma-siddhānta doctrine. It is also said that the king heard in their company the story (Śrīpurāṇa) of Āḷuḍaiya-Nambi. Tiruvorriyūr was as remarked already a religious centre that attracted kings even to attend its festivals. In the latter (no. 206 of 1912) Caturānana-Paṇḍita is mentioned as the maṭhādhipati, at whose instance the temple accountant ("Uḍaiyān uravākkinān", *i. e.* maitrikara) recorded gifts of lamps and cows made to the temple in previous years that were not till then engraved in stone.

Turning our attention to the Caturānana, whose earlier patron was Kṛṣṇa III we have seen that he resigned the world soon after 949 A. D., that he bathed in the Ganges which was probably in 950 A. D., that he entered the order of saṁnyāsa at Tiruvorriyūr which was probably in 951 A. D., and that he succeeded Nirañjana, his guru, thereafter, on the demise of Nirañjana which took place probably a year or two after his initiation (say 953 A. D.). Thus it is proved that he was an younger contemporary of Nirañjana, who was patronised by Vijaya Kampavarman.

Nirañjana too should have been old enough about 953 A. D.; let us say he was 60 years old, which would mean that he lived from about 893 to 953 A. D. The estimate of the late Krishna Sastri that he lived in the ninth century<sup>2</sup> would then cover only the guru's infancy and boyhood, as the later parts of his life, such as youth, old age etc. figure only in the tenth century. His patron Vijaya Kampavarman appears to have ruled for 26 years<sup>3</sup> as evidenced by a record of his dated in the 26th year of his reign from Maḍam, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot

1. *M. E. R.* 1912, p. 67. The name Paḍambakka-Nāyakadeva (also referred to in no. 367 of App. B.) seems to connect the shrine of Ādhipurīśvara with the serpent's hood paḍam (and confirms the statement of the priests that the god now worshipped . . . . is an ant-hill covered on all sides with a metallic protector).

2. *M. E. R.* 1913, p. 86.

3. *M. E. Coll.* no. 283 of 1919.



District. The fact that he is unknown to Kṛṣṇa III who was keen on bringing all the minor powers together so that they can support him against the Cola<sup>1</sup> proves that Vijaya Kampavarman should have lived before the advent of Kṛṣṇa III. That Nirañjana knew no other patron than Kampavarman is clear from his gift dated in the 19th year of Kampavarman's reign, which is in fact the last record of this king in the temple at Tiruvorriyūr. And this guru who lived between 893—953 A. D. would be considered to merit saṁnyāsa and the headship of the maṭha at Tiruvorriyūr and also be expected to engage himself in the work of constructing the temple of Mahādeva as he is said to have done only as a youth or as a middle-aged man commanding much influence in the country, and not as a boy. He was probably in need of royal patronage when he took up the work of temple construction after entering saṁnyāsa, which was probably when he was of sufficient age, say 33. And the corresponding year would be 926 A. D. and it was probably in this year that Kampavarman's record of the 19th year was made. If his 19th year will be equivalent to 926 A. D., his total rule which extended to 26 years will be said to run from 907—933 A. D. His rule cannot be postulated in the reign of Āditya I, for the Pallava that the latter had to fight with was Aparājita and none other. He was probably an unnoticed boy during the campaign of Āditya in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and was not in a position to assert himself during the later part of Āditya's reign. Āditya appears to have retained hold of the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam till almost his death (907 A. D.)<sup>2</sup>. Consequently the death of Āditya in or before 907 A. D. should have given occasion to Kampavarman (now a youth) to play the part of a Vijaya Pallava, which was possible, as Parāntaka I, the son of Āditya, was engaged with the Pāṇḍya and the Ceylonese kings for a long time. Thus we are tempted to give him a rule extending from 907—933 A. D.

What was the country that he ruled? Almost all his inscriptions<sup>3</sup> are located in the Chingleput, and North Arcot

1. *J. O. R.* Vol. V, pt. IV, pp. 309 n—10.
2. *M. E. R.* 1907, pt. II, paras 29n—30; *E. I.*, xviii, p. 23.
3. *M. E. Coll.*, Nos. 24, 26 of 1893, 43 of 1887, 3, 5—7, 9, 42, 64, 65, 84, 85, 90 of 1898, 207, 208 of 1901, 429 of 1902, 391, 398 of 1905, 345 of 1906, 372 of 1911, 174, 189, 253 of 1912, and 283 of 1919.



districts which should have therefore constituted his dominion. Strangely however all the known inscriptions of Aparājita (870—888 A. D.) come from the same two districts,<sup>1</sup> and from no other. Kampavarman probably died in 933 A. D., the year that marked his 26th regnal year. He was probably born before 888 A. D., the year in which Āditya is said to have killed Aparājita in battle. The fact that the territory of Aparājita was taken possession of by Āditya soon after 888 A. D. may be true and no Pallava power could show itself during his life-time. The subjection of the Pallava territory to Āditya was probably in name. And when Āditya died Pallava power showed itself under Kampavarman in the same territory as Aparājita should have ruled over. This circumstance gives room to the surmise that we have probably in Kampavarman a son of Aparājita himself whose territory goes to Kampavarman as patrimony. In all probability Kampavarman was an infant boy of Aparājita when the latter was killed in 888 A. D., and some trusted nobles of Aparājita should have removed the boy to a place of safety and should have reared him up till he grew into youth and asserted the Pallava power soon after the death of Āditya, the Yama of his father. It would thus appear that he was probably born to Aparājita, in about say 885 A. D. and lived till 933 A. D. and his rule appears to have extended from about 907 to 933 A. D.

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1. Nos. 351 of 1908, 435 of 1905, 31—2, 158—9, 161, 163, 180, 190 of 1912.



## HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

BY

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(Continued from page 148).

The former may be translated as follows :—

When *onpatū* is combined with *paṣṭū*, *t* is inserted before *o* of *onpatū*, *ṇ* is substituted for *n*, *paṣ* is dropped, *ū* is inserted after *ṇ* and *t* of *paṣṭū* is replaced by *r*. Hence the form *tonṇūrū*. (Here no mention is made of the dropping of *paṣ* in *onpatū*; but it seems to me that it has been dropped on account of the same word *paṣṭū* following it.) The latter sūtra may be translated as follows:—When *onpatū* is combined with *nūrū*, *t* is inserted before *o* of *onpatū*, *ḷ* is substituted for *n*, *n* of *nūrū* is dropped, *ū* is replaced by *ā* followed by *ira* and *ru* is replaced by *m*. Hence *tolḷā-ira-m = tolḷā-y-iram*, *y* being intervocalic. (Here also no mention is made of the loss of *patū* in *onpatū*.)

These two sūtras clearly show that the derivation of the two words *tonṇūrū* and *tolḷāyiram* was forgotten even at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār.

In the last but one sūtra of Eḷuttatikāram, Tolkāppiyāṇār states that the sandhi that takes place between *uricol* and a following word, between the two members of *paṇṇu-t-tokai* and *vinai-t-tokai*, and between a word denoting a number and the same word, does not follow the rules already mentioned, and that it must be found out from usage. (e.g. *veḷ ena veḷuttatū* becomes *veḷveḷuttatū*; *kariyatū + kutirai* becomes *karuṇkutirai*; *konṇa + yāṇai* becomes *kol-yāṇai*; *kollum + yāṇai* becomes *kol-yāṇai*; *pāṭṭū + pāṭṭū* becomes *pāppāṭṭū* or *pāṣpāṭṭū*.)

2.12. *Medieval Period*: 2.121. The author of *Vīra-cōḷiyam* explains sandhi in 18 stanzas in *Cantiṭṭaṭalam*. Instead of the terms *meypīritāṭal*, *mikūṭal*, and *kunṇaṭ* adopted by Tolkāppiyāṇār, he respectively mentions *ādēṣa*, *āgama* and *lōpa*. This clearly shows that he wanted to import terms current in Sanskrit grammar in preference to Tamil terms. He prefers the



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term *ādēśa* used in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī to the term *vikāra* used in Prātiśākhya.

He then summarises the general views of Tolkāppiyaṇār in a clumsy fashion so as to suit the verse-form, and adds a few more not found in Tolkāppiyam. The substance of the following sūtras in Eḷuttatikāram of Tolkāppiyam is briefly mentioned in the stanza 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 to 22 and 24 to 28.

Stanza No. in Cantippaṭalam of Vīracōḷiyam.	Sūtra No. in Eḷuttatikāram.
14	151, 161, 358, 363, 384
16	397, 398
17	367, 368, 150
19	315, 311, 312, 331
20	150, 204, 222, 244, 250, 253 255, 265, 274, 275, 277, 281, 283, 290
21	415
22	333, 303, 398
24	206, 207, 209, 239, 257
25	312, 368, 398, 82
26	259, 390
27	174 to 203
28	150, 151.

In the 11th stanza, he mentions that the negative particle *na* (of Sanskrit) loses its *n* before a consonant and it becomes *an* before a vowel. (cf. *na + brāhmaṇaḥ = a-brāhmaṇaḥ*; *na + indraḥ = aniṇdraḥ*.)<sup>1</sup> In the 12th, he mentions *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters (as found in Sanskrit) and says that they appear in words having *taddhita* suffix as *caivaṇ*. These points found in Sanskrit grammar have no place in a treatise on Tamil grammar. Still he seems to have mentioned them since such Sanskrit words as are governed by these rules were found in plenty in the Tamil literature of his time. But all those words like *abrāhmaṇa*, *anindra*, *ramēśa*, *śaiṇa* must have been borrowed as they were in Sanskrit. Hence no adequate justification can be found in the strict requirements of Tamil language and grammar for formulating these rules.

1. Cf. *naḷōpō naṇaḥ* (P. A. 6.3.73) and *tasmānmuḍ aci* (P. A. 6.3.74).



In stanza 13 he definitely mentions that if the standing word ends in *i*, *ī* or *ai*, and if the following word commences with a vowel, *y* is inserted between them; if it is *ē*, either *y* or *v* is inserted and if it is any other vowel, *v* is inserted. This is evidently an improvement upon *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, since the latter has stated only that an *uṭampāṭumey* may be inserted between two vowels (Tol. E. 141) and *v* is inserted after the demonstrative roots and before vowels as *a-v-v-āṭai*, *i-v-v-āṭai*, etc. (Tol. E. 208, 239 & 256.) The author of *Vīracōliyam* may have gone through the literature written before his time and stated this law from the examples available from them, of which some are given below.

## ‘I’

1. *Maṇi + ampalattul = maṇi-y-ampalattul* (T.A.S. 1.3.4).
2. *Kumari + iṇ = kumari-y-iṇ* (P.N. 6.2).
3. *Uvavumati + uruviṇ = uvavumati-y-uruviṇ* (P.N. 3.1).
4. *Iṭi + eṇa = iṭi-y-eṇa* (P.N. 17.39).
5. *Puravi + aivarotū = puravi-y-aivarotū* (P.N. 2.13).
6. *Puravi + oṭu = puravi-y-oṭu* (P.N. 16.1).

N.B.—But after the demonstrative *i* only *v* is inserted. e.g. *i + aṇ = i-v-aṇ*.

## ‘Ī’

1. *Tī + alavū = tī-y-alavū* (K. 747).
2. *Nī + ākal-vēṇṭiṇum = nī-y-ākal-vēṇṭiṇum* (P.N. 18.15).
3. *Tī + um = tī-y-um* (P.N. 2.4).
4. *Nī + ē = nī-y-ē* (P.N. 4.13).
5. *Nī + ō = nī-y-ō* (P.N. 5.3).

## ‘AI’

1. *Erūmai + aṇṇa = erūmai-y-aṇṇa* (P.N. 5.1).
2. *Eṇkuvai + āyiṇ = eṇkuvai-y-āyiṇ* (P.N. 13.1).
3. *Ticai + irunāṇkum = ticai-y-irunāṇkum* (P.N. 41.4).
4. *Tānai + um = tānai-y-um* (P.N. 161.31.)
5. *Mātamālīkai + eṭukka = mātamālīkai-y-eṭukka*  
(S.I.I. ii, 521).

## ‘Ē’

1. *Tānē + atu = tānē-y-atu* (P.N. 5.8).
2. *Koṭuttōrē + uṇṭi = koṭuttōrē-y-uṇṭi* (P.N. 18.20).
3. *Tāmē + ūrtorūm = tāmē-y-ūrtorūm* (P.N. 52.8).
4. *Cē + aṭi = cē-v-aṭi* (Pattu. 5.62).
5. *Ē + urumañṇaiyiṇ = ē-v-urumañṇaiyiṇ* (Pattu. 197.84).



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Note.—Only *y* is inserted in most of the cases; *v* is rarely inserted.

## ‘A’

1. *Amma + ivan* = *amma-v-ivan* (P.N. 18.29).
2. *Unṭākiya + uyarmannum* = *unṭākiya-v-uyarmannum* (P.N. 17.24).
3. *Neṭiya + enṇātū* = *neṭiya-v-enṇātū* (P.N. 47.2).
4. *Nilarra + ēmamuracam* = *nilarra-v-ēmamuracam* (P.N. 3.3).
5. *Pōla + ōvātū* = *pōla-v-ōvātū* (P.N. 4.19).

## ‘Ā’

1. *Vārā + aḷavai* = *vārā-v-aḷavai* (P.N. 50.6).
2. *Ā + in + ku* = *ā-v-iṇ-ku* (K. 1066).
3. *Tavirā + īkai* = *tavirā-v-īkai* (P.N. 3.5).
4. *Kalaṅkā + uḷlam* = *kalaṅkā-v-uḷlam* (Cilap. 4.70).
5. *Mā + ē* = *mā-v-ē* (P.N. 4.7).

## ‘U’

1. *U + an* = *u-v-an* (Tol. Col. 162).
2. *Maru + inṇi* = *maru-v-inṇi* (Cilap. 5.39).
3. *Valiṇṇu + ōr* = *valiṇṇu-v-ōr* (P.N. 10.1).

## ‘Ū’

1. *Tū + ā + kuḷavi* = *tū-v-ā-k-kuḷavi* (P.N. 379.15).

E and o, it has already been stated, are very rare as finals of roots or nouns.

In stanza 15 he mentions that if *l* or *ḷ* is followed by *t*, it is changed to *ṭ* and consequently *t* also is changed to *ṭ* and in some cases one of the two *ṭ*'s is dropped. This dropping of one of the two *ṭ*'s when the vowel preceding *ḷ* is short is not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. e.g. *arumṇorul + tarūum* becomes *arumṇorut-arūum* in Cilap. 24 where *ḷ* is changed to *ṭ* and then dropped. I carefully ransacked several works written before his time, but I could not find one example in them where *ḷ* is changed to *ṭ* or is dropped. In the first stanza in Kantapurāṇam, a later work, *tikal + tacakkaram* becomes *tikaṭacakkaram* where *ḷ* is dropped after changing the succeeding *t* to *ṭ*. In Kamparāmāyaṇam, a work written after Vīracōliyam *kīl + ticai* becomes *kīṭṭicai*, (Kampar. C. Kaṭaṭāvu. 39) where *ḷ* is changed to *ṭ*.

In stanza 18, he says that, if *ḷ* is followed by *n*, *ḷ* is dropped and *n* changes to *ṇ*. e.g. *vāl + nāl* = *vāṇāl*. Cf. *vāṇal annāl*.



(Kampar. C. Ūrtēṭu. 75). Similarly he says that, if *l* is followed by a voiceless consonant, it is changed to *t* or *ṇ* and if it is followed by *m*, it is changed to *ṇ*. These points are not found in Tolkāppiyam.

In stanza 23 he says that the ādēśas of *onṛi*, *iranṭi*, *mūnṛi*, *nāli*, *ainti*, *āri*, *ēl*, *eṭṭi*, *onṇati*, *ṇatti* and *nūri* are respectively *oru*, *or*: *iru*, *ir*: *nū*, *nū*: *nāṇki*: *ai*: *aṇu*: *elu*: *eṇ*: *onṇāṇ*: *ton*, *ton*: *pāṇ*, *pāṇ*: *nūri*, *ṇatu*, *ṇastu* and *āyiram*. This is only a brief summary of the rules in Tolkāppiyam dealing with the sandhi of numbers mentioned in *kurriyalukara-p-puṇariyal*. One point to be noted here is that he does not indulge in any fanciful derivation of *tonṇūri* and *tolḷāyiram* like Tolkāppiyaṇār but explains them as formed out of *tol* and *nūri*, and *tol* and *āyiram*, though he fancies that *tol* and *nūri* are ādēśas of *onṇati* and *ṇatti* in the former and *tol* and *āyiram* are the ādēśas of *onṇati* and *nūri* in the latter.

He has not divided sandhi into the two classes, the case-relation sandhi and the non-case-relation sandhi, as Tolkāppiyaṇār has done. This is perhaps due to the fact that such a division is not found in Sanskrit Grammar. But considering the points of difference in sandhi between two words in Tamil when the former is in case-relation with the latter or otherwise, I find it difficult to understand why he has omitted it.

2.122. The author of Nēminātam has given 15 stanzas on sandhi of which about 10 are almost identical with Vīracōḷiyam in substance. Three of them contain the same matter as in Tolkāppiyam. He gives like the author of Vīracōḷiyam, the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters applicable to Sanskrit words, but differs from him in his statement that if the standing word ends in *ē*, only *v* is inserted if it is followed by a vowel. He gives some more rules, e.g. *v* of *tev* is changed to *m* if it is followed by *m*.

2.123. The author of Nannūḷ has skilfully summarised all the sūtras of Tolkāppiyam on sandhi with the additions mentioned by Iḷampūraṇar, the authors of Vīracōḷiyam and Nēminātam with reference to pure Tamil words, with slight changes here and there.

2.1231. The important points where Nannūḷ differs from Tolkāppiyaṇār:—(1) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that there is no change in non-case-relation sandhi if the standing word ends in *y*<sup>1</sup>; but

1. *Alvali y-ellū m-iyalpeṇa molīpa*. (Tol. E. 362.)



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Nannūlār says that if *y* is preceded by a short vowel and followed by a nasal, the same nasal is inserted.<sup>1</sup> (e.g. *mey* + *ñānratū* = *mey-ñ-ñānratū*.)

(2) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that, if the demonstrative roots are followed by consonants, they are doubled; but Nannūlār adds the interrogative *e* also as *e-k-korran* and also says that if the demonstrative root is lengthened and is followed by a vowel, *y* but not *v*, is inserted;<sup>2</sup> this is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār though he has used it in his first sūtra in Collatīkāram 'ā-y-irutiṇaiyīṇ icaikkumaṇa collē'.

(3) Tolkāppiyaṇār has not definitely stated that *ū* at the end of the standing word is dropped if it is followed by a vowel; Nannūlār has definitely stated it. He may have taken it from Iḷampūraṇar's commentary on the sūtra 'kurriyalukaramum-arreṇa molīpa' (Tol. E. 106).

(4) Tolkāppiyaṇār states that when the word *pala* is followed by the same word, the two become *palapala*, *pala-p-pala*, or *paṛpala*. Iḷampūraṇar adds the word *cila* also to that category. Nannūlār says that when *pala* and *cila* are followed by other words also, they optionally lose the final *a*. (e.g. *pala-kalai*, *pal-kalai*; *cila-valai*, *cil-valai*, etc.)<sup>3</sup>

(5) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that *i* of verbal participle *inri* is changed to *u* in verse. Nannūlār adds the word *anri* also.<sup>4</sup>

(6) Nannūlār says that, if the word *uri* is followed by certain words, *ya* is inserted between them, as *uri* + *uppu* = *uri-*

1. *En-mū v-eluttiṇ r-evvakai molikkum*  
*Muṇ-varu ñā-na-ma-ya va-k-ka l-iyalpum*  
*Kuṇil-vali y-a-t-taṇi y-ai-n-notu muṇ-meli*  
*Mikalum-ām na-la-ṇa-la vali-na-t tiriyum.* (Na. 158.)

2. *Ekara viṇā-mu-c cuttiṇ munṇar*  
*Uyirum yakaram-u m-eytiṇ va-v-v-um*  
*Piṇa-vari ṇ-avaiyum tūkkir cuttu*  
*Niḷiṇ yakaram-um iḍṇrutal neri-y-ē.* (ibid. 163.)

3. *Pala-cila v-eṇum-ivai tam-muṇ tām-varin*  
*Iyalpum mikalum akaraṁ-ēka*  
*Lakāram rakara m-ākalum piṇa-varin*  
*Akaram vikaṇpa m-ākalu m-uḷa-piṇa.* (ibid. 170.)

4. *Anri y-inri-y-eṇ viṇai-y-eṇ c-ikaram*  
*Totarpinū l-ukara m-āy-vari ṇ-iyalpē.* (ibid. 173.)



*ya-v-uppū*: *uri* + *payarū* = *uri-ya-payarū*.<sup>1</sup> This is not mentioned by Tolkāppiaṇār or by the author of *Vīracōliyam*.

(7) Nannūlār says that there are certain words ending in *ū* which take the flexional increment *ai* in sandhi. (e.g. *paṇṭū* + *kālam* = *paṇṭaikkālam*; *inrū* + *nāl* = *irraināl*).<sup>2</sup> This is not mentioned by Tolkāppiaṇār.

(8) Nannūlār exactly agrees with the author of *Vīracōliyam* as regards *uṭampāṭumey* or intervocalic consonant, which Tolkāppiaṇār has not clearly stated.

(9) Tolkāppiaṇār says that, when both the standing word and the following word denote directions, the final *ū* with the preceding consonants is dropped, and if the standing word is *terkū*, *r* also is changed to *ṇ*.<sup>3</sup> (cf. *teṇ-mērkkū*.) Iḷampūraṇar adds under the same sūtra that, even if the following word does not denote direction, the same change takes place (as *vāṭakāṭal*) and also *r* of *mērkkū* is changed to *l* as *mēl* + *kūrai*. Nannūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>4</sup>

(10) Nannūlār says that, if *teṅkū* is the standing word and *kāy* is the following word, *kū* is dropped and *e* is lengthened.<sup>5</sup> (e.g. *teṅkū* + *kāy* = *tēṅkāy*)<sup>6</sup>.

(11) Tolkāppiaṇār says that, if the word *paṭṭū* is followed by *onrū*, *mūnrū*, *nāṅkū*...*eṭṭū*, *tū* of *paṭṭū* is dropped and the flexional increment *iṇ* is inserted.<sup>7</sup> (e. g. *paṭṭū* +

1. *Uri-vari nāliyi ṇ-irruyir mey-keṭa*  
*Maruvum ṭakara m-uriiṇ valiyē*  
*Yakara v-uyir-mey-ā m-ērpaṇa varinē*. (ibid. 174.)

2. *Ai-y-ir ruṭai-k-kuṛ ruṭaram-u m-ulavē*. (ibid. 185.)

3. *Tiripu-ṣērū kiḷappi ṇ-orrū m-iṛuti-y-uṇ*  
*Keṭtal vēṇṭu m-eṇmaṇār pulavār*  
*Orru-mey tirintu ṇakāra m-ākun*  
*Terkoṭū puṇarūn kālai y-āṇa*. (Tol. E. 433.)

4. *Ticai-y-oṭū ticai-y-um piṇa-v-uṇ cēriṇ*  
*Nilai-y-ir r-uyir-mey ka-v-v-orrū nāṅkāḷum*  
*Rakaram ṇa-la-v-ā-t tiritalu m-ām-piṇa*. (Na. 186.)

5. *Teṅku-niṇ iṛruyir mey-keṭūn kāy-vāriṇ*. (ibid. 187.)

6. This lengthening of the vowel is evidently due to compensating the loss of 'kū'.

7. *Onrū-muta l-āka v-eṭṭa ṇ-iṛuti*  
*Ellā-v-eṇṇum paṭṭaṇ muṇ-varir*  
*Kurriya-lukara meyyoṭūn keṭumē*  
*Murra v-iṇ-varū m-iraṇṭalaṇ kaṭai-y-ē*. (Tol. E. 434.)



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*onru* = *pat-in-onru*, etc.) Iḷampūraṇar adds the flexional increment *iru* also. Nannūlar agrees with the latter.<sup>1</sup>

(12) Nannūlar says that, if the standing word ends in a consonant other than *y* and the following word begins with *yā*, *i* is sometimes inserted.<sup>2</sup> (e.g. *vēl + yāvan = vēliyāvan*.)<sup>3</sup>

(13) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that, if the word *ekin* not denoting a tree is the standing word, it takes after it the flexional increment *a*, and then the initial voiceless consonant of the following word is doubled.<sup>4</sup> (e. g. *ekin + kāl = ekin-a-k-kāl*.) Iḷampūraṇar adds that, instead of the same voiceless consonant being doubled, the corresponding nasal may be inserted, as *ekin-a-ṇ-kāl*. Nannūlar agrees with the latter.<sup>5</sup>

(14) If the standing word ends in *y*, *r* or *l* and the initial member of the following word is *k*, *c*, *t* or *p*, there is no change in non-case-relation sandhi according to Tolkāppiyaṇār, and the same consonant may be doubled according to the author of Viracōliyam. Nannūlar agrees with the latter.<sup>6</sup>

(15) Nannūlar says that, if the word *tev* is followed by a word beginning with *m*, *v* is changed to *m*. (e.g. *tev + munai = temmunai*.)<sup>7</sup> But this is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār. This, he has adopted from Nēminātam.

(16) As regards the formation of *tonṇūru* and *tolḷāyiram*, Nannūlar agrees with the author of Viracōliyam in substituting

1. *Onru-muta l-iraiṇ i-āyiraiṇ kōṭi*  
*Enṇirai y-aḷavum piṇa-variṇ pattiṇ*  
*Irṇuyir mey-keṭu-t t-iṇ-ṇ-u m-irṇum*  
*Erpa t-ērku m-onpatṭi m-iṇaitṭē.* (Na. 197.)
2. *Taṇ-ṇ-oli mey-m-muṇ ya-v-vari ṇ-ikaram*  
*Tuṇṇu m-enṇū tuṇinaru m-ularē.* (Ibid. 206.)
3. This insertion of 'y' is perhaps though analogy with the insertion of 'i' when such words as *khyāti* are tamilised into *kiyāti*.
4. *Ennai y-ekin-ē yakaram varum-ē*  
*Valleḷut t-iyarkai mikutal vēṇṭum.* (Tol. E. 338.)
5. *Maram-al l-ekin-moli y-iyalpum akaram*  
*Maruva vali-meli mikatu m-ākum.* (Na. 215.)
6. *Ya-r-va muṇṇar-k ka-ca-ta-pa alvali*  
*Iyalpu mikalu m-ākum vēṇṇumai*  
*Mikalu m-iṇaitṭō a-uralṭalum viti-mēl.* (Na. 224.)
7. *Tev-v-en moliyē tolirpeya r-arṇē*  
*Ma-v-variṇ vaṣkōṇ ma-v-vu m-ākum.* (ibid. 236.)



*nūri* and *āyiram* for *paṭṭi* and *nūri*, but agrees with *Tolkāppiyānār* in the method of changing *onpaṭi* to *ton* and *tol* respectively. (cf. Na. 194.)

2.13. *Modern Period*: 2.131. The author of *Ilakkaṇa-vilakkam* has given 106 sūtras in sandhi in three chapters. Of them 22 sūtras are identically the same as are found in *Tolkāppiyam* and 69 as found in *Nannūl*; nine are adapted from *Tolkāppiyam* and 4 from *Nannūl*; two are original.<sup>1</sup>

2.132. The Rev. C.J. Beschi agrees with all the grammarians regarding the insertion of the intervocalic consonant except in the case of *e*, after which, he says, *y* is inserted<sup>2</sup>, while others say that *v* is inserted. Among the changes in sandhi he includes *tiraṭṭi* which means *dirgha-sandhi*, *guṇa-sandhi* and *vṛddhi-sandhi*<sup>3</sup> like the authors of *Vīracōliyam* and *Nēminātam*.

2.14. *Similarities and Dissimilarities between Sanskrit and Tamil in Sandhi*: 2.141. *Similarities*: There are 3 points in which Sanskrit sandhi and Tamil sandhi are similar.

(1) In Sanskrit if the standing word ends in *ṇ* preceded by a short vowel and is followed by a vowel, *ṇ* is doubled. (e. g. *sugaṇ+īśaḥ=sugaṇ-ṇ-īśaḥ*.) Cf. *ṇamō hrasvād aci ṇamunīyam*. (P. A. 8.3.32.) Similar is the case in Tamil. e. g. *kaṇ+alakitū=kaṇ-ṇ-alakitū*. (Tol. E. 161.)

(2) The final *m* when followed by a voiceless consonant is changed to the corresponding nasal. e. g. *am+kitah=aṅki-tah*. Similarly *aṅcītah*, etc. Cf. *mō'nusvārah* (P.A. 8.3.23.) and *anusvārasya yayi para savarṇah* (P. A. 8.4.58.) In Tamil also the same is the case in non-case-relation sandhi. (e. g. *maram+kuritū=marāṅkuritū*, etc.) (Tol. E. 315.)<sup>4</sup>

(3) Both in Sanskrit and Tamil, the final letter of the vocative does not generally undergo any change.

1. They deal with the point that there is no change in sandhi if the standing word is vocative or ends in third or sixth case suffix. As regards sandhi when the standing word is vocative, it seems to me that he has followed similar sandhi in Sanskrit.

2. *Mutalirruyirmoli yēcērpulī, īēai yīriyaiyum yavvē, marrai yuyirkkīl vakaram puṇarum* (T. V. 20); *tiripalī vāṅkam tiraṭṭunāl vikāram*. (ibid. 21.)

3. *Irumolīy orumolī yenaccan kīrtamāy, nilaimolī yīrruyir nīṅkalu mataṇḍ, taṇaimolī mutarṇa a āvātalum iēyātalum, nūḍvātalum*. (T. V. 38.)



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2.142. *Dissimilarities*:—(1) As regards sandhi between two vowels in Sanskrit the most important laws are: (a) if *a, i, u, ṛ* or *ḷ* (ॡ) is followed by a similar vowel, *ā, ī, ū, ṛ* and *ṝ* are respectively substituted for both; (b) if *a* or *ā* is followed by *i* or *u* short or long, guṇa letter (i.e.) *ē* or *ō* is substituted for both: (c) if *i, u, ṛ* or *ḷ* (ॡ) short or long is followed by a dissimilar vowel, it is changed to the corresponding semi-vowel; (d) if *a* is followed by *ē* or *ai* and *ō* or *āu*, *āi* and *āu* are respectively substituted for both; (e) if *ē, ai, ō* and *āu* are followed by a vowel, they are changed to *ay, āy, av* and *āv* respectively.

None of these laws finds a place in Tamil in any period, except perhaps some of them are used in modern spoken Tamil. In place of these laws, Tamil has the one important law that a semi-vowel may, in the ancient period and must, in the medieval and modern periods, be inserted between two vowels except in the case of *u* which is dropped.

(2) Besides, the insertion of flexional increment between the base and the case-suffix as found in Tamil is unknown in Sanskrit.

(3) The doubling of the initial consonant of the following word when the final of the standing word is a vowel, as in Tamil *viḷā-k-kurūtū*, is practically unknown in Sanskrit.

(4) In Sanskrit accented syllables take guṇa or vṛddhi, while, in Tamil, flexional increments are generally added before them.

(5) Another important difference in sandhi between Tamil and Sanskrit is that, in the former, it is divided into two important classes, the case-relation sandhi and the non-case-relation sandhi, and in the latter, such a classification is not found. Hence it is clear that in Tamil when words have to be combined in sandhi, one must know before-hand their meaning, which is not necessarily the case in Sanskrit except in the case of the nouns in the vocative case and nouns in dual number. But on the other hand, in several respects the internal sandhi differs from the external sandhi in Sanskrit, while in Tamil no difference is generally made in the treatment of sounds in both these varieties of sandhi.

Hence it may be said that the ways in which sandhi takes place in both the languages are so different as to form one of the strong reasons to prove that Tamil and Sanskrit are fundamentally different languages.



## 3. COL OR PARTS OF SPEECH.

3.1. *Definition*:—All Tamil grammarians except the author of *Viracōliyam* and its commentator and the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* define *col* or word as that which conveys sense.<sup>1</sup> This is exactly similar to the statement '*arthah padam*' (S.Y.V.P. 3.2.) found in *Śukla Yajurveda Prātiśākhya* and also to the statement '*śaktam padam*' made by Sanskrit logicians. But the authors of *Viracōliyam* and *Pirayōkavivēkam* follow Pāṇini's definition '*suptināntam padam*' (P.A. 1.4.14.), since they say that a particle *su* is added at the end of nouns in the nominative singular and then it is dropped,<sup>2</sup> as is done in the case of the nominative singular of neuter nouns in Sanskrit like *śuci*, *madhu*, etc. and generally of masculine and feminine nouns whose base ends in a consonant like *vāc*, *bhiṣaj*, etc. By so doing they have distorted the perspective through which the linguistic phenomena of the Tamil language should be analysed and evaluated. For, in the Tamil language gender is generally determined by sex, and at no stage grammatical gender was recognised as a category distinct from natural gender.

3.2. *Classification*:—Parts of speech are, in the opinion of *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, *Nannūlar* and the later grammarians, primarily two in number, viz., *peyar* and *viṇai*, and they would, in a secondary sense, give the dignity of parts of speech to two more categories, viz., *iṭai-c-col* and *uri-c-col*.<sup>3</sup> A striking parallelism is discernible between this classification and that in Yāska's *Nirukta* '*catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyātē ca upasarganipātāśca*' (Y.N. 8.8). As *Durgācārya* points out,<sup>4</sup> the priority given to *nāma*, and *ākhyāta* indicates their primary importance, while *upasarga* and *nipāta* are assigned to a subordinate position.

1. *Ellā-c collum poruḷ-kurrit taṇavē*. (Tol. Col. 155.)

2. .... *oruvaṇ orutti y-onṇi nēriya cu eikum Aliyum-ūriya cu*. (V.V. 5) & (P.V. p. 12, line 7).

3. *Col-l-eṇa-p paṭupa peyarē viṇai-y-cṇ R-ā-y-iraṇ t-eṇpa v-aṇintici nōrē*. (Tol. Col. 158.)  
*Ṭai-c-coṇ kiḷavi-y-u m-uriccoṇ-kiḷaviyum Avarru-vali maruṇkiṇ rōṇṇi m-eṇpa*. (ibid. 159.)

4. *Atra nāmākhyātayōḥ pūrvam abhidhānam, prādhānyāt, aprādhānyāt upasarga-nipātānām paścāt | Ubhē api nāmākhyātē nipātōpa-sarganirapekṣē api satī svam artham ōrūtaḥ | Na tu upasarga-nipātānām nāmākhyāta-nirapekṣānām-artho'sti* || (*Durgācārya's Comm.* on. Y.N. 8.8.)



## A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA.

BY

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The following pages present a short account of the literary value and importance of an extensive and valuable commentary on the Amarakośa now deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The manuscript bears the No. R. 3356 (T—1—107) and is described in Vol. IV of the Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. The commentary was acquired from Berhampore district which is bordering on the Orissa country, by the Peripatetic Search Party of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. No other copy of this commentary is known to exist in any other library either in India or elsewhere. Neither the name of the commentary nor that of the author could be gathered from the ms. The fact that it was secured from Berhampore lends weight to the view that the author belongs to those parts. This conjecture is supported by the fact that in some places in the commentary the author gives certain vernacular meanings of Sanskrit words, many of which are from the language of the Utkals. For instance, on page 398 of the commentary we find उत्कले वेल इति नीचोक्तिः . There are many other references of a similar nature.

The importance of the commentary consists in the fact that nearly 250 authors and works are mentioned therein. Many of them are either unknown or little known. The following is a complete list of the authors and works referred to in the course of the work :

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|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Abhinanda.   | 6. Amaramālā.      |
| 2. Ācārya.      | 7. Amogha.         |
| 3. Āgamaśāstra. | 8. Ardhanārīśvara. |
| 4. Ajaya.       | 9. Arthaśāstra.    |
| 5. Amaradatta.  | 10. Aruṇadatta.    |

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| 11. Āścaryamañjarī. | 52. Dhanapāla.        |
| 12. Auṇādikavṛtti.  | 53. Dhanvañtri.       |
| 13. Bhagavadgītā.   | 54. Dharāṇi.          |
| 14. Bhāgavṛtti.     | 55. Dharmadāsa.       |
| 15. Bhāguri.        | 56. Dhātupārāyaṇa.    |
| 16. Bharata.        | 57. Dhātupradīpa.     |
| 17. Bhārata.        | 58. Dhṛtidāsa.        |
| 18. Bharatasamhitā. | 59. Dvārapāla.        |
| 19. Bhāravi.        | 60. Dvirūpa.          |
| 20. Bhāṣāvṛtti.     | 61. Dvirūpakośa.      |
| 21. Bhāskara.       | 62. Durgasimha.       |
| 22. Bhāṣya.         | 63. Gauḍīyavyākhyāna. |
| 23. Bhāṭṭacandra.   | 64. Gomin.            |
| 24. Bhāṭṭamalla.    | 65. Gopacandra.       |
| 25. Bhāṭṭa.         | 66. Gopālita.         |
| 26. Bhāṭṭasvāmin.   | 67. Govardhana.       |
| 27. Bhāṭṭi.         | 68. Haḍḍa.            |
| 28. Bhavabhūti.     | 69. Haḍḍacandra.      |
| 29. Bhīma.          | 70. Halāyudha.        |
| 30. Bhīmasena.      | 71. Hārāvali.         |
| 31. Bhoja.          | 72. Haridāsa.         |
| 32. Bhojarāja.      | 73. Hariharāditya.    |
| 33. Bhūgeśvara.     | 74. Hariprabodha.     |
| 34. Bhugneśvara.    | 75. Harivilāsa.       |
| 35. Bopālita.       | 76. Harṣacarita.      |
| 36. Brahmā.         | 77. Hemamālī.         |
| 37. Brhanmanu.      | 78. Jātarūpa.         |
| 38. Buddhacarita.   | 79. Jayāditya.        |
| 39. Cāṇakya.        | 80. Jayakośa.         |
| 40. Caṇḍī.          | 81. Jinendra.         |
| 41. Caṇḍīśāstra.    | 82. Kādambarī.        |
| 42. Candra.         | 83. Kālidāsa.         |
| 43. Candragomin.    | 84. Kāliṅgadatta.     |
| 44. Cāndrānuśāsana. | 85. Kalpadruma.       |
| 45. Candrikā.       | 86. Kalpatarukāra.    |
| 46. Caraka.         | 87. Kāmandakīya.      |
| 47. Daityāri.       | 88. Kāmaśāstra.       |
| 48. Dāmodara.       | 89. Kappaṇābhyaṇḍaya. |
| 49. Daṇḍin.         | 90. Kāśīkāvṛtti.      |
| 50. Datta.          | 91. Kāśīrāja.         |
| 51. Dhanañjaya.     | 92. Kāśyapa.          |



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| 93. Kātantraṭikā.      | 134. Nāmamālā.           |
| 94. Kātya.             | 135. Nāmānuśāsana.       |
| 95. Kaumudīśvara.      | 136. Nānārtha.           |
| 96. Kavikalpalatā.     | 137. Nandīśvāmin.        |
| 97. Kāvya prakāśa.     | 138. Nandīśvara.         |
| 98. Kedāreśvara.       | 139. Narasimha.          |
| 99. Keśaramālā.        | 140. Nigamābhidhāna.     |
| 100. Keśava.           | 141. Nighaṇṭu.           |
| 101. Kirātārjunīya.    | 142. Nirṇayadīpikā.      |
| 102. Kośa.             | 143. Nītiratnākara.      |
| 103. Kośāntara.        | 144. Nītiśāstra.         |
| 104. Kramaviśvara.     | 145. Nṛsimhapurāṇa.      |
| 105. Kṛṣṇadāsa.        | 146. Nyāsa.              |
| 106. Kṣīrasvāmin.      | 147. Padma.              |
| 107. Kulakabhaṭṭa.     | 148. Pālakāpya.          |
| 108. Kumāra.           | 149. Parapāla.           |
| 109. Kumudākara.       | 150. Paribhāṣāvṛttikāra. |
| 110. Kusumākara.       | 151. Pārijāta.           |
| 111. Liṅgabhaṭṭa.      | 152. Prākṛtavṛtti.       |
| 112. Mādhava.          | 153. Prāṇeśvara.         |
| 113. Mādhavī.          | 154. Purāṇatantra.       |
| 114. Mādhaviya.        | 155. Pūrṇacandra.        |
| 115. Madhumādhava.     | 156. Puruṣottma.         |
| 116. Madhumādhavī.     | 157. Rabhasa.            |
| 117. Madhumādhavīkāra. | 158. Raghu.              |
| 118. Madhumitra.       | 159. Rājaśekhara.        |
| 119. Māgha.            | 160. Rakṣita.            |
| 120. Mahābhārata.      | 161. Rāmadāsa.           |
| 121. Mahanyāsa.        | 162. Rāmāyaṇa.           |
| 122. Mahāyajñaprayoga. | 163. Ranti.              |
| 123. Mahendra.         | 164. Rantideva.          |
| 124. Mālatī.           | 165. Rasakośa.           |
| 125. Manu.             | 166. Rasavatī.           |
| 126. Mārkaṇḍeya.       | 167. Ratna.              |
| 127. Matsyāyana.       | 168. Ratnakośa.          |
| 128. Medinī.           | 169. Ratnamālā.          |
| 129. Medinīkāra.       | 170. Ratnaśāstra.        |
| 130. Megha.            | 171. Rudra.              |
| 131. Mukuṭa.           | 172. Rudrakośa.          |
| 132. Mukuṭarāya.       | 173. Rūpakādyā.          |
| 133. Murāri.           | 174. Rūparatnākara.      |



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| 175. Śābarasvāmin.           | 216. Subhūti.            |
| 176. Śabdabhedaparakāśa.     | 217. Sundarānandacarita. |
| 177. Śabdāmālā.              | 218. Sūryaśataka.        |
| 178. Śabdāntara.             | 219. Suśruta.            |
| 179. Śabdaratnākara.         | 220. Svāmin.             |
| 180. Śabdārṇava.             | 221. Tantrāntara.        |
| 181. Śabdaśāstra.            | 222. Tāpasimha.          |
| 182. Śābdika.                | 223. Tārapāla.           |
| 183. Śābdikanarasimha.       | 224. Ṭikākāra.           |
| 184. Śābheda.                | 225. Ṭikākṛt.            |
| 185. Śābheda.                | 226. Trikāṇḍa.           |
| 186. Śābheda.                | 227. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa.       |
| 187. Sahacārapaddhati.       | 228. Ujjvaladatta.       |
| 188. Sāhasāṅka.              | 229. Umāmaheśvara.       |
| 189. Sājjha or Sāñjha.       | 230. Uṇādivṛtti.         |
| 190. Śākaṭāyana.             | 231. Upādhyāya.          |
| 191. Śālihotra.              | 232. Upādhyāyasarvasva.  |
| 192. Sām̐ba.                 | 233. Utpalamālā.         |
| 193. Sāmbapurāṇa.            | 234. Utpalinī.           |
| 194. Saṁsārāvarta.           | 235. Uttaracarita.       |
| 195. Sanātana.               | 236. Vācaspati.          |
| 196. Sāmudrikā.              | 237. Vādasimha.          |
| 197. Sārārṇava.              | 238. Vāgbhaṭa.           |
| 198. Sārasaṅgraha.           | 239. Vāhaṭa.             |
| 199. Śārīra.                 | 240. Vaidyāṅka.          |
| 200. Sarvadhara.             | 241. Vaidyaka.           |
| 201. Sarvānanda.             | 242. Vaijayantī.         |
| 202. Sarvasva.               | 243. Vaikuṇṭha.          |
| 203. Sarvasvakāra.           | 244. Vāmana.             |
| 204. Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa. | 245. Vandyaghaṭīya.      |
| 205. Śāsvata.                | 246. Varāha.             |
| 206. Śātānanda.              | 247. Varahasamhitā.      |
| 207. Setukāvya.              | 248. Vararuci.           |
| 208. Smṛti.                  | 249. Vardhamāna.         |
| 209. Somanandin.             | 250. Vardhamānamīśra.    |
| 210. Śrīdhara.               | 251. Varṇadeśanā.        |
| 211. Śrī Harṣa.              | 252. Varṇaviveka.        |
| 212. Śrīnivāsa.              | 253. Vāsavadattā.        |
| 213. Śrīpati.                | 254. Vaidyakara.         |
| 214. Śṛṅgāraparakāśa.        | 255. Vasantarāja.        |
| 215. Śābhāṅga.               | 256. Vātsyāyana.         |



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| 257. Vāyupurāṇa.    | 270. Vṛddhāmarakośa.    |
| 258. Vibhākara.     | 271. Vṛddhāmara.        |
| 259. Vidagdha.      | 272. Vṛndāvanayamaka.   |
| 260. Vidyāvinoda.   | 273. Vṛtti.             |
| 261. Vikramāditaya. | 274. Vṛttikāra.         |
| 262. Viśākhadatta.  | 275. Vyāḍa.             |
| 263. Viṣṇudharma.   | 276. Vyāḍi.             |
| 264. Viṣṇupurāṇa.   | 277. Vyāsasiddhānta.    |
| 265. Viśva.         | 278. Vyūḍha.            |
| 266. Viṣvakṣeṇa.    | 279. Yādava.            |
| 267. Viśvanātha.    | 280. Yogaśataka.        |
| 268. Vopāla.        | 281. Yogaśatakavyākhyā. |
| 269. Vopālika.      | 282. Yogeśvara.         |

A short account of some of the most important of these works and authors is given below :—

*Ajaya.*

Ajaya, or Ajayapāla as he is otherwise known, is the author of a lexicon by name Nānārthasaṅgraha.<sup>1</sup> He is an old lexicographer of high authority. Writers like Sarvānanda, etc., quote profusely from the lexicon of this writer.

*Amaradatta.*

Amaradatta is another old lexicographer referred to by Halāyudha and others. Halāyudha the author of the Abhidhāna-ratnamālā is older than the tenth century and Amaradatta is still older. The lexicon of Amaradatta is not available at present. The extracts that are available from the lost work of Amaradatta are collected by the author of this paper separately.

*Amaramālā.*

Amaramālā is a lexicon of antiquity and authority. Early writers like Kṣīrasvāmin and others quote from this work, which is unfortunately available only in fragments. A lexicon by name Mālā is referred to by Kṣīrasvāmin and it is not known whether the name Mālā is an abbreviation of the longer name Amaramālā. Scholars like the late Pandit Ramavatara Sarma think that the Mālā is the same as Amaramālā.

1. An edition of this lexicon is under preparation by the author of this paper under the auspices of the University of Madras.



*Amogha.*

Amogha, or Amoghavṛtti more properly, is the commentary on Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa by Śākaṭāyana himself. Śākaṭāyana was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa to patronage this work is due.

*Ardhanārīśvara.*

This writer is gathered to have composed most probably a work on genders in Sanskrit. Ardhanārīśvara is referred to by Sarvānanda in his Ṭikāsarvasva, by Bhānuji in his Sudhā, by Cāritravardhana in his commentary on the Raghuvamśa and by others. Ardhanārīśvara thrice is referred to in the work under notice.<sup>1</sup>

*Aruṇadatta.*

Aruṇa or Aruṇadatta is again another writer both on grammar and lexicography. Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda refers to Aruṇa once as Aruṇa and once as Aruṇadatta. It is therefore clear that Aruṇa is the shortened form of Aruṇadatta. There are nearly eight references to Aruṇadatta in this commentary. The work of Aruṇadatta should have consisted of at least three sections, each being called a kāṇḍa. They were *Puṁskāṇḍa*<sup>2</sup>, *Strikāṇḍa*, and *Klībakāṇḍa*. Aruṇadatta is referred to by Ujjvaladatta in his Uṇādisūtravṛtti, and by Vardhamāna in the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi.<sup>3</sup> We know that the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi was composed in the 12th century and therefore Aruṇa should belong to a period prior to the 12th century.

*Āścaryamañjarī.*<sup>4</sup>

Two quotations from a work called Āścaryamañjarī are found cited in the work under notice and the references are such as to warrant the conclusion that it should have been a *campūkāvya*.<sup>5</sup> The two references are:—

गृहपतिरिव भद्रपदानुगतः इत्याश्चर्यमञ्जरीश्लेषः<sup>4</sup>

इषीकाशरसमयमिव रोचमानेषीकं द्विरदमारुरोह इत्याश्चर्यमञ्जरीश्लेषः<sup>5</sup>

The name of the author is gathered to be Kulaśekhara of Tapatisamvāraṇa fame.<sup>6</sup> Quotations from this work are available

1. See pages 265, 326 and 475.

2. See pages 155 and 739.

3. See page 119.

4. See page 51.

5. See page 473.

6. See Prastavanā, Tapatisamvāraṇa, T. S. S.



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in the Sūktimuktāvalī of Jalhana. The author of the Tapatisam-  
varaṇa belonged to the 10th century and the Āścaryamañjarī  
should belong to the same period. No copy of this work is  
known to exist anywhere at present.

*Bhāgavṛtti.*

The Bhāgavṛtti is attributed to Bhartṛhari, the famous  
grammarian by Sṛṣṭidhara, the commentator on the Tantrapra-  
dīpikā. Whoever the author of the Bhāgavṛtti might have been,  
the fact remains that the work is an early one. One quotation is  
found from the Bhāgavṛtti in this work and it runs as follows:—

भागवृत्तिस्तु धान्यकमित्युदाजहार<sup>1</sup>.

*Bhāguri.*

Bhāguri is an ancient grammarian and lexicographer. The  
lexicon of Bhāguri is available only in quotations, distributed in  
several works. The name of the lexicon is gathered to be  
Trikāṇḍa on the authority of Puruṣottamadeva the author of the  
Bhāṣavṛtti. Twentyfive quotations in the name of Bhāguri and  
sixtytwo in the name of Trikaṇḍa are found in this commentary.

*Bhaṭṭacandra.*

This is another lexicographer referred to in the commentary  
under reference. Only one quotation is found from the work  
and it runs as follows:—

समीरो मरुतो मरुत्<sup>2</sup>.

What the work of Bhaṭṭacandra is we do not know.

*Bhāvavṛtti.*

On page 200 of this work we find

ततो “धराधरेन्द्रं व्रतती ततीरिव” इत्यसाधुरिति भाववृत्तिः ।

From the nature of the quotation it seems as if the  
Bhāvavṛtti is a work on grammar discussing, as many other  
works on grammar do, the usages of older poets and writers.  
The Bhāgavṛtti which was referred to just now is one such work,  
for quotations from the Bhāgavṛtti that are available show that  
the author of the Bhāgavṛtti criticised the usages of poets like  
Māgha, Bhāṛavi etc. It is worthy of note that the present

1. See page 504.

2. See page 34.



reference also is a verse from Māgha's Śiśupālavadha. It is very likely that the Bhāvavṛtti is a scribal error for Bhāga-vṛtti.

*Bhūgeśvara.*

The only quotation available from Bhūgeśvara कर्णः श्रेत्रम् अरिं च<sup>1</sup> shows that Bhūgeśvara is a lexicographer. The lexicon was probably of synonyms. More of this author we do not know.

*Bhugneśvara.*

From this author again there is only one quotation and that seems to have been extracted from a lexicon of his. The citation runs as follows:—

उक्तं संसरणं कर्म गजादानीमसकुलम्<sup>2</sup> ।

It is not known whether the Bhugneśvara is only a corruption of the name Bhūgeśvara or whether the latter is different from the former.

*Bopālita.*

Bopālita, Vopālita, Bopālīka, Gopālita, and Vopālīka are the different spellings of the name of a single individual. Bopālita is the author of a lexicon now lost to us. That the different names do not indicate different persons may be clear from the following instances:—

In the Tīkāsarvasva we find

विषुवान् समरात्रिवासरः कालः इति पुंस्काण्डे वोपालितः<sup>3</sup> ।

Quoting the same text, Bhānuji says

विषुवान् समरातिवासरः इति पुंस्काण्डे वोपालितः<sup>3</sup> ।

and in the work under notice the same extract is attributed to Gopālita as follows:—

विषुवान् समरात्रं [त्रि]वासरः कालः इति पुंस्काण्डे गोपालितः<sup>4</sup> ।

The lexicon is not known to exist in any of the known libraries either in India or elsewhere. The work should have been divided in to kāṇḍas according as the gender of the words treated therein varied. The author is older than Ujjvaladatta.

1. See page 142.

2. See page 176.

3. See under I-iv.-14.

4. See page 66.



## A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA 255

*Daityāri.*

Daityāri is a hitherto unknown commentator on the Amarakośa. There are several extracts from Daityāri's commentary.<sup>1</sup> No copy of this commentary is known to exist anywhere. The name of his commentary is unknown. We know of a poet by name Daityāri who is quoted in the Padyāvali and it is not known whether this Daityāri is the same as the commentator on the Amarakośa.

*Dāmodara.*

There are two<sup>2</sup> references to Dāmodara and both refer to points of grammatical interest. The second of the references is found in the same words in Sarvānanda's *Tikāsarvasva*. Sarvānanda<sup>3</sup> tells us that Dāmodara wrote a work called *Upādhyāyasarvasvam*. But in the work under reference, we find the following extract :—

तदुपाध्यायसर्वस्वेन दामोदरेणोक्तम्<sup>4</sup>

thereby making *Upādhyāyasarvasva* another name of Dāmodara. Which of the two is correct is yet to be made out.

*Datta.*

Datta is referred to only once<sup>5</sup> in the work under reference. In this reference the name of Datta is associated with that of Vidyāvinoda and Sarvānanda, commentators on the Amarakośa.

वशिस्तालव्यमध्य इति दत्तविद्याविनोदौ ।

वसिरो दन्त्यमध्य इति सर्वानन्दः ।

Here the views of Datta and Vidyāvinoda agree and they differ from that of Sarvānanda. It is very likely therefore that the Datta referred to is a commentator on the Amarakośa.

*Dhanapāla.*

Dhanapāla as a grammarian is referred to in the *Puruṣakāra*, Mādhava's *Dhātuvṛtti* and others. According to them Dhanapāla should have written some treatise on the *Dhātupāṭha*. Dhanapāla who wrote on the *Dhātupāṭha* is older than Maitreyarakṣita, Kāśyapa and others. But the reference to Dhanapāla in the present work make him out to be the author of a lexicon, which was probably known as *Dhanapālābhidhāna*.

1. See pages 19, 327, 346, 379, 383, 386, etc.
2. See pages 231 and 290.
3. *Tikāsarvasvam*, II-IV-155.
4. See page 290.
5. See page 258.



मन्दरोऽपरशैलोऽस्त इति धनपालाभिधाने<sup>1</sup>

are the words with which the name of Dhanapāla is introduced.

*Dharmadāsa.*

There are two<sup>2</sup> references to Dharmadāsa. The former is likely to lead to the conclusion that Dharmadāsa wrote a lexicon. The reference is as follows:—

जवायां तु जपा स्त्रियाम्<sup>3</sup>.

But the other reference

नेत्रोष्ठाधरपाणिपादयुगलैः

makes Dharmadāsa a poet. Sarvānanda<sup>4</sup> refers to Dharmadāsa very probably as a grammarian. It is not known whether all these Dharmadāsa's were identical or different. If they were, then Dharmadāsa is older than the 12th century A. D.

*Dhātupārāyaṇa.*

Dhātupārāyaṇa, as the name indicates is a work based on the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini. It is very likely that it is a commentary on the Dhātupāṭha. We are at present aware of three works of the name of Dhātupārāyaṇa. One is by Hemacandra, published already by the Vienna Oriental Society. The other is the Dhātupārāyaṇa of Jumarānandin. The third Dhātupārāyaṇa is still to be discovered. That work is by Pūrṇacandra, evidently a Buddhist. There are four references to the Dhātupārāyaṇa<sup>5</sup> in this commentary and one<sup>6</sup> to its author. That Pūrṇacandra was the author of this Dhātupārāyaṇa could be gathered from the following reference in Sarvānanda's *Ṭikāsarvasva*.

ऋमुक्षो वज्र इति धातुपारायणे पूर्णचन्द्रः.<sup>7</sup>

This extract, without the name of Pūrṇacandra appears on page 24 of the work under notice. In the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* there are several references to this Dhātupārāyaṇa.

1. See page 191.
2. See Pages 248 and 399.
3. See page 248.
4. See under I-iv-33. *Ṭikāsarvasva*.
5. See pages 24, 114, 362 and 510.
6. See page 840.
7. page 34. *Ṭikāsarvasva*, I-i-44.



## A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA 257

*Dhṛtidāsa.*

To Dhṛtidāsa there are a few references<sup>1</sup> in this work. Who Dhṛtidāsa is or what his work is cannot be conjectured at present. But from the quotations, it may be gathered that his work is a lexicon. To Dhṛtidāsa there are two references in Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda's commentary on the Amarakośa.

*Dvārapāla.*

To Dvārapāla is attributed a verse in this commentary. The verse itself runs as follows:—

कच्छः स्यादनटेऽन्येऽपि तटेऽस्त्री तुन्नकद्रुमे<sup>2</sup>.

Evidently this is a quotation from some lexicon of Dvārapāla. We do not come across the name of Dvārapāla either in grammatical literature or lexicographical literature. It is likely that the first syllable द्वा is a mistake for ता. Tārapāla is a familiar name in lexicography.

*Gauḍīyavyākhyāna.*

Kṣīrasvāmin refers in his commentary to an ancient commentator on the Amarakośa by the name Gauḍa. Who that Gauḍa is, he does not say. Sarvānanda is a Gauḍa but Kṣīrasvāmin, being older, cannot refer to the commentary of Sarvānanda. All other known commentators of Gauḍa belong to a period later than Kṣīrasvāmin. Now, in the ms. under notice we find

स्त्रीप्रत्ययनिर्देशस्तु स्त्रीप्रत्ययादर्शनार्थ इति गौडीयव्याख्या<sup>3</sup>.

But it should be noted that in the corresponding portion in the commentary of Kṣīra we do not across any such reference as stated above. To Gauḍīya Vyākhyā there is only one reference in this work.

*Gomi.*

Gomi is the same as Candragomin whose work on grammar is available in print. Gomi, Candra and Candragomin are referred to frequently in this work.

- 
1. See pages 121, 213, 259, 604, 595, 441, 559.
  2. See page 272.
  3. See page 365.



*Goyīcandra.*

Goyīcandra is the famous Bengal writer on Kātantra Vyākaraṇa. To Goyīcandra there is a single reference<sup>1</sup> in this work.

*Govardhana.*

There are about seven<sup>2</sup> references to Govardhana in this work. Three<sup>3</sup> of them are from a Vṛtti by Govardhana on the Uṇādisūtras. This work is now lost to us. This Govardhana is older than Ujjvaladatta.

Two<sup>4</sup> references are to a lexicon by Govardhana. A lexicon of Govardhana is deposited in the Bikaner state Library and it is known as Nāmāvalī. Perhaps this is the same as the work from which quotations are found herein.

The other two references are to a literary work of Govardhana. We know of Govardhana, the author of the Āryā-Śaptaśatī published in the Nirṇaya Sagara Press. He was a contemporary of Śaraṇadeva, author of Durghaṭavṛtti and was in the court of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The author of the Āryāśaptaśatī is not known to have written any other work and the verses quoted by the commentator are not Āryas and cannot obviously find a place therein.

The verses referred to in the present commentary have been referred to by Sarvānanda also. They are by another Govardhana or from a different work of the author of the Āryāśaptaśatī.

*Haḍḍa or Haḍḍacandra.*

Haḍḍa or Haḍḍacandra as he is otherwise known is an ancient lexicographer, and grammarian. He is referred to Sarvānanda, Ujjvaladatta and other writers. The references in the present commentary are from the lexicon of Haḍḍa, which is practically lost to us and from the grammatical work of his. The name of his lexicon and that of his work on grammar is not known.

*Haridāsa.*

One quotation from the work of Haridāsa

1. See page 135.

2. See pages 124, 173, 351, 460, do, 748, 760.

3. See pages 124, 173 and 351.

4. See page 460.



## A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA 259

कलभैस्तुमुलवनीति हरिदासः

is found on page 498 of the work under consideration. We do not know anything more of this Haridāsa.

*Hariharāditya.*

The name of Hariharāditya is introduced in the following manner.<sup>1</sup>

चव्या खियामिति हरिहरादित्यः.

It is possible that the work of Hariharāditya is a lexicon. More of this author we do not know.

*Hariṣrabodha.*

The Hariṣrabodha is a Yamaka Kāvya of high antiquity. We find quotations from this work in such ancient treatises like the Kāvya-lāṅkārasūtravṛtti of Vāmana, etc. No ms. copy of the work is known to exist in any library at present. There are two quotations<sup>2</sup> in this work from that Kāvya.

*Hemamālī.*

Hemamālī is probably the name of an author of some lexicon. Only one quotation from this author is found in the work under notice and that is evidently an extract from a lexicon. It runs as follows:<sup>3</sup>—

आशीररुगदंष्ट्रायां शुभवाच्याभिलाषयोः.

*Jātarūpa.*

Jātarūpa is another lexicographer referred to in this commentary. Two<sup>4</sup> quotations are seen from that author. In the former of the two, we find his name associated with that of Ranti or Rantideva. In the latter, his name stands alone. We know of a Jātarūpa who has commented on the Amarakośa. But the reference,

पट्टी नान्तः पुमान् इति रन्तिजातरूपौ<sup>5</sup>

seems to have been taken from a lexicon, rather than from a commentary on a lexicon. Moreover the coupling of the name Ranti, who is certainly a lexicographer with that of Jātarūpa

1. See page 258.

2. See pages 23 and 135.

3. See page 128.

4. See pages 224 and 251.

5. See page 224.



lends weight to the supposition that he might have been the author of a lexicon himself.

*Jayakośa.*

Jayakośa is certainly the name of a lexicon. The name of its author is unknown. A single quotation is found from this work and it reads as follows:—

जम्बीरो जम्भीरो निम्ब इति जयकोशे ।<sup>1</sup>

*Kaliṅgadatta.*

Kaliṅgadatta, most probably a native of the Kāliṅga country is an authority referred to by Ujjvaladatta, Sarvānanda, Rāyamukūṭa and others. Kaliṅgadatta is known by the shorter name Kāliṅga also. He seems to have commented on the Amarakośa. The extract,

ऐरावतादिचतुष्कं नागरङ्ग इति कलिङ्गदत्तसर्वानन्दादयः<sup>2</sup>

lends support to this view. The reference to Kāliṅga in the Tīkāsarvasva too lends weight to this conjecture.

*Kalpataru.*

A work called Kalpataru is referred to on page 565 of this commentary in connection with the meaning of the word पार. The quotation runs as follows;—

पारदः सकललोकनाशकः षड्भसौ निखिलपोगवाहकः ।

पञ्चभूतमययोगवाहको देहलोहवरसिद्धिदायकः ॥ इति कल्पतरुकारः<sup>3</sup>.

Evidently the verse should have been extracted from some work on medicine and we know of a medical treatise known as Kalpataru, composed by Mallinātha. Perhaps this quotation is from that work.

*Kāśīrāja.*

The name of Kāśīrāja<sup>4</sup> is introduced in connection with the meaning of the word अभया. We know of a Kāśīrāja the author of the Cikitsākaumudī. The extract in the work under notice

उपभुज्यमानायामस्यां सत्यां नास्ति रोगभयमिति अभया इति काशिराजः<sup>5</sup> might very well have been taken from the Cikitsākaumudī. No ms. copy of this work is known to exist at present in any of the libraries.

1. See page 211.

2. See page 222.

3. See page 565.

4. See page 237.

5. See page 237.



## A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA 261

*Kātya.*

Kātya is an ancient grammarian and lexicographer. Quotations from his lexicon are frequently met with in commentaries on the Amarakośa like that of Kṣīrasvāmin, etc.

*Kaumudīśvara.*

Kaumudī is a commentary on the Amarakośa. Copies of this commentary are available in Bengal. Only one reference to this commentary is seen in the work under notice. This commentary is older than Rāyamukūṭa, for we find several references in the work of the latter to the Kaumudī.

*Kedāreśvara.*

Kedāreśvara is referred to in the following words:—

नस्ता नासा मभ्या शिरा नासा रज्जोश्च दृश्यते इति केदारेश्वरः ।<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to find out who this writer is.

*Kesaramālā.*

Kesaramālā is a comparatively old lexicon, having been referred to by Sarvānanda. From the work under notice we find that the words of the lexicon should have been arranged according to the initial syllable. The dictionary seems to have been one of synonyms.

शारङ्गश्चातके ख्यातः शाबले हरिणे त्रिषु इति तालव्यादौ चातकपर्याये  
केसरमाला<sup>2</sup>

is the extract from the present commentary that give us the necessary information.

*Kramaviśvara.*

On page 392 of the present work we find

शेफः पवर्गोपधमिति क्रमवीश्वरः ।

Kramaviśvara is practically an unknown name. We know of Kramadīśvara who is the author of the grammatical treatise Saṁkṣiptasāra. The word Kramaviśvara seems to be a corruption of Kramadīśvara.

1. See page 542.

2. See page 321.



*Kṛṣṇadāsa.*

Kṛṣṇadāsa's name is mentioned<sup>1</sup> several times over in this work. He seems to have been a commentator on the Amarakośa. From the fact that in most of the southern commentaries his name does not appear it is likely that he belonged to North India, probably to Bengal. Rāmanātha in his Trikāṇḍa-viveka refers to the commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa on the Amarakośa.

*Kulakabhaṭṭa.*

The name of Kulakabhaṭṭa is known through a single reference in this commentary,

समाज्ञात इति समाङ्पूर्वात् जिनातिरिति ख्यातौ<sup>2</sup>.

The identity of Kulakabhaṭṭa and his work, if any, is not known.

*Kumudākara.*

Kumudākara is the author of a lexicon of unknown name. Six<sup>3</sup> quotations from the lexicon of Kumudākara are found in the work under notice. Nothing more of this author is known.

*Kusumākara.*

Kusumākara is either a lexicon or a lexicographer, hitherto unknown. Only one quotation is available from the Kuṣumākara and it reads as follows :—

जागुडं हरिताले स्यात् कनकेऽपि नपुंसकम् ।

कुङ्कुमादावपि इति कुसुमाकरः<sup>4</sup>.

*Mādhava.*

There are several references to Mādhava in this work. Among the references at least two writers of the name Mādhava are to be found. One of them is a lexicographer and the other is probably the Mādhava of the Mādhavanidāna fame. The lexicographer Mādhava wrote probably on the model of the Anekārthasamuccaya of Śāśvata in that he arranged the *Paryāya śabdās* in full verses, half verses and so on. Subhūti-*çandra*<sup>5</sup> tells us that the lexicon of Mādhava was known as *Paryāyaratnamālā*. That Mādhava's was *Paryāyaratnamālā* or

1. See pages 12, 51, 81, 106, 131, etc.

2. See page 94.

3. See pages 733, 739, 740, 743, 754, 761.

4. See page 561.

5. See Subhūti—R. 2933, p. 184.



## A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA 263

simply Ratnamālā is referred to in the present work on page 163. In one place in the present commentary we find<sup>1</sup>

तथा च श्लोकार्धपर्याये माधवः—

मनश्शिला मनोज्ञा च नैपाली कुनटी शिला इति ॥

We know that Subhūticandra is older than Śaraṇadeva, the author of the Durghaṭavṛtti, who belonged to about 1173 A. D. Mādhava who is referred to by Subhūti must be much older. This Mādhava is sought<sup>2</sup> to be identified with the author of the Rugviniścaya—Mādhava, who belonged to the 8th or 9th century.

*Mādhavī.*

Mādhavī, or Madhumādhavī in its fuller name, is a commentary on the Amarakośa by one Madhumādhava. This Madhumādhava is referred to by Vidyāvinoda too in his commentary. It is very likely that he belongs to Bengal.

*Madhumitra.*

Madhumitra is the author of a lexicon of synonyms. Only one quotation is found from his work and it reads as follows:—

मधुमित्रस्तु तुलसीपर्याये

तुलसी वैष्णवी पूजा पवित्रा माधवेति च ।

अमृता पत्रपुष्पा च सुगन्धा पापहारिणी ॥<sup>3</sup>

Neither the name of the lexicon, nor the date of author is known.

*Mahendra.*

Mahendra is another compiler of synonyms. He seems to have brought those words in groups of two synonyms, three, four and so on. Mahendra is referred to as follows:—

द्विपर्यायवर्गे कुम्भोद्धखलमेकं नाम इति महेन्द्रः<sup>4</sup>.

Nothing more of the author is known.

*Matsyāyana.*

Somebody of the name of Matsyāyana is referred to in the following words:—

1. See page 570.
2. See Winternitz, III-550.
3. See page 250.
4. See page 219.

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अवि सधर्मिणीं विद्यात्' इति मत्स्यायनः<sup>1</sup>.

But this extract in a slightly different form, which is possibly the correct reading, is found attributed to Kātya in Bhānuji's commentary on the Amarakośa. He says :—

अवि स्त्रीधर्मिणीं विद्यात्' इति कात्याः.

We do not know whether मत्स्यायन is a mistake for कात्यायन.

*Mukūṭa.*

Mukūṭarāya, Rāyamukūṭa, or Bṛhaspati is a commentator on the Amarakośa. Bṛhaspati is his name and the rest titles. He composed his commentary in A. D. 1431. He belonged to Bengal and several copies of his commentary are available.

*Nāmamālā.*

Several lexicons of this name are known to us. Vāmana in his Kāvyaśaṅkharasūtravṛtti quotes from the Nāmamālā of Kātya. Dhanañjaya's Nāmamālā is available in ms. to day. There are other Nāmamālās also. The commentary under notice quotes simply from Nāmamālā, without specifying the name of the author.<sup>2</sup>

*Nāmānuśāsana.*

This is referred to only once in this commentary as follows :—

असुक्ष्णोऽपि नामानुशासने ह्रस्वोकारवान्<sup>3</sup>.

Bhānuji<sup>3</sup> refers to this work once in his commentary but in neither place do we find the name of author.

*Narasimha.*

We get three different forms of presumably the same name. In one place<sup>4</sup> we find a half verse from a lexicon quoted as from Nārasimha. In another place<sup>5</sup> we find इति नरसिंहः. A third set of quotations are from Śābdika Narasimha.<sup>6</sup> Narasimha wrote some lexicon from which the extracts referred to above are citations.

1. See page 353.

2. See pages 64, 131, 206, 230, 251, etc.

3. See page 115.

4. See page 146.

5. See page 213.

6. See pages 143, 157, 213, 281, etc.



## A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA 265

*Nigamābhīdhāna.*

The Nigamābhīdhāna is an old lexicon of unknown authorship. The work is older than Sarvānanda who quotes from it.

*Nirṇayadīpikā.*

See Vācaspati.

*Nītiratnākara.*

The Nītiratnākara is referred to only once in the commentary under notice. The reference runs as follows:—

तथा हि नीतिरत्नाकरे—

संबन्धः लाभः उपाकृतः अभेदः गुणक्रीडनं च । भेदास्तु दृष्टमयं  
वचनं संबन्धलाभात्तूपाकृत्य भेदौ गुणकीर्तनं साम पञ्चविधं भेदो दृष्टादृष्टमयं  
चेति<sup>1</sup> ।

The Nītiratnākara is by Caṇḍīśvara.

*Parapāla.*

The lexicographer Parapāla is mentioned only once in the following citation:—

० उभो धर्मेऽग्रणि ज्येष्ठे पुमानुष्मा स्त्रियामपि<sup>2</sup>.

*Pārijātaka.*

It is not known what this work is like. The following quotation is found from the Pārijātaka.<sup>3</sup>

कर्पूरागरुकस्तूरी कक्कोले घुसृणानि च ।

एकीकृतमिदं सर्वं यक्षकर्म उच्यते ॥

*Prāṇeśvara.*

Prāṇeśvara is very probably a lexicographer of antiquity. Sarvānanda refers to him as follows:—

नद्यां कूपतटे तरौ च विवरे शैले चितौ वल्मिकः इति प्राणेश्वरः<sup>4</sup>

and the same quotation occurs on page 173 of the ms. under notice. More of this author, we do not know.

*Pūrṇacandra.*

See Dhātupārāyaṇa.

*Rabhasa.*

Rabhasa is an old lexicographer and several extracts from his lexicon are available, though the lexicon itself is not extant.

1. See page 465.
2. See page 69.
3. See page 426,
4. See Tīkāsarvasvam, under II-i-14.



More than 200 extracts are available in this work. Rabhasa is older than Sarvānanda.

#### *Rakṣita.*

Rakṣita is probably the same as Maitreya Rakṣita whose Dhātuvṛtti is available in print. In certain places in his Uṇādivṛtti Ujjvaladatta remarks—इति दुर्घटे रक्षितः and that Rakṣita should be distinguished from Maitreya Rakṣita. Ujjvaladatta's Rakṣita is Sarvarakṣita and it is not unlikely that Sarvarakṣita is referred to as Rakṣita by the commentator whose commentary on the Amarakośa we are now dealing with.

#### *Rāmadāsa.*

There are nearly ten references to a Rāmadāsa in this commentary. He is referred to by Subhūti and Sarvānanda in their commentaries on the Amarakośa and he is therefore older than the 12th century. Rāmadāsa seems to have composed some works on grammar. Aufrecht attributes to him a work called Kātantravyākhyāsāra.

#### *Ranti.*

Ranti seems to be a shortened form of Rantideva, an old lexicographer. He is referred to as an authority by Sarvānanda and is therefore older than the 12th century. There are several extracts from Rantikośa in the present work.

#### *Rasakośa.*

So far only one reference to the Rasakośa has come to light and that is,

दुर्दिनं जलदध्वान्तम्<sup>1</sup>.

It is worthy of note that the same quotation is attributed both in the Ṭikāsarvasva and Vyākhyāsudhā to the Ratnakośa. It is not known whether Rasa is a mistake for Ranta.

#### *Rasavatī.*

The Rasavatī is referred to only once in the work. Aufrecht tells us that Rasavatī comprises the additions made to the Samkṣiptasāra by Jumarānandin. As a matter of fact the Rasavatī is a Vṛtti on the sūtras of the Samkṣiptasāra school by the founder himself, Kramadīśvara.

#### *Ratna.*

Ratna is a kośa. There are two lexicons by name Ratna-mālā and Ratnakośa. Ratna may be a shortened form either of

1. See page 45.

2. See page 28.



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the former or the latter. In many instances it happens to be the shortened form of Ratnakośa. Ratnakośa itself is older than Sarvānanda and from the quotations available, we are able to infer that it should have consisted of verses in various metres. Sarvānanda tells us that the Ratnakośa was divided into Kāṇḍas and that there were three Kāṇḍas, *i. e.*, Strikāṇḍa, Purnskāṇḍa and Napurnsakakāṇḍa. He says:—

ननु रत्नकोशादिवत् स्त्रीपुंनपुंसककाण्डविधानेनैव कथनमुचितम्<sup>1</sup>.

*Ratnaśāstra.*

The Ratnaśāstra is a work on the qualities of precious stones. We find the following quotation from that work:—

येन क्षीरं भवेन्नीलं तद्वैरेयं निगद्यते ।

येन धूम्रायितं क्षीरं तच्छूद्रं विनिगद्यते ॥<sup>2</sup>

The name of the author of the work is not known.

*Rudra.*

Rudra is the author of the Rudrakośa from which copious extracts are cited by Sarvānanda, Bhānuji and others. In the present commentary there are nearly 150 citations from the kośa of Rudra. It was very probably a lexicon of homonyms. Rudra is older than the 12th century.

*Rūparatnākara.*

Rūparatnākara is older than Bhānuji who quotes from the following extract from that work: धनुः प्रियाल द्रुमः<sup>3</sup> In the work under reference there are two references to the Rūparatnākara and they are :—

आमण्डो मण्ड आमण्डः इति रूपरत्नाकरः<sup>4</sup>.

परः कोटिशतेति रूपरत्नाकरः<sup>5</sup>.

It is clear that the Rūparatnākara is a lexicon.

*Śabarāsvāmin.*

At least two Śabarāsvāmins are known to us at present and they are: 1. The author of the famous Mīmāṃsābhāṣya; 2. the author of a Līṅgānuśāśana. Ujjvaladatta quotes most probably from a lexicographer Śabarāsvāmin and the Śabarāsvāmin

1. See page 4.
2. See page 557.
3. II-i-4-35.
4. See page 233.
5. See page 630.



referred to in the commentary under reference also seems to be a lexicographer. The following is the quotation :—

पद्मं च कुमुदं चापि रक्तं कोकनदं स्मृतम्<sup>1</sup>.

*Śābdika, and Śābdika Narasimha.*

*See Narasimha.*

*Sāhasāṅka.*

Sāhasāṅka is another old lexicographer. We have nearly a dozen quotations from the lexicon of Sāhasāṅka. Sāhasāṅka is one of the authorities mentioned in Viśvaparakāśa and the Viśvaparakāśa was composed in 1111 A. D. Sāhasāṅka is therefore an old writer.

*Sājjha.*

Sājjha or Sāñjha (the name is written either way) seems to have commented on the Amarakośa. Neither the identity of the author nor the name of his commentary is known. Among other writers who quote Sāñjha is Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda. There are nearly 20 references to Sāñjha in the work, under notice Aufrecht spells the name as Sāñja. Sāñja is referred to by Rāmanātha in his commentary on the Amarakośa.

*Saṁsārāvarta.*

Saṁsārāvarta is a lexicon referred to by Puruṣottamadeva in the following words:—

शब्दार्णव उत्पलिनी संसारावर्त इत्यपि ।

कोशा वाचस्पतिव्याडिविक्रमादित्यनिर्मिताः ॥

This is understood to mean that the Saṁsārāvarta is by Vikramāditya. On the other hand Saṁsārāvarta is mentioned as an authority in the Medinīkośa along with Vikramāditya. There are about eight quotations from Saṁsārāvarta in this work.

*Sanātana.*

Sanātana, a poet is referred to thrice in this work. The following citations occur in the name of Sanātana.

तथा हि सनातनः—

स्वरपिमेनमनोहरमुत्तमसत्पृषतलोचनया रहितं त्वया<sup>2</sup>.

अर्चीषि पूर्वं जगद्भुतं स्वम्<sup>3</sup>.

1. See page 164.

2. See page 4.

3. See page 31.



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These references certainly indicate that he must have been a poet. But the third reference which reads as follows:—

वहस्थैर्य[?]लुनातीति वल्लवः, पचाद्यच् इति सनातनः<sup>1</sup>

seems to indicate that Sanātana is a grammarian. It is not known whether this Sanātana is the same as the poet. Sanātana the poet is referred to by Sarvānanda and the first of the quotations is found in the Tīkāsarvasva also. Another reference in the same work makes him out to be a grammarian. He is therefore older than the 12th century.

Sarvānanda refers to a work called Yogaśatakavyākhyā of Sanātana and quotes from it as follows:—

तथा च योगशतकव्याख्याने सनातनः—

रीतिकायां ध्यायमानायां यदुत्पद्यते मलं तत् पुष्पाञ्जनम् इति<sup>2</sup>.

The same extract is cited on page 567 of the ms. of the work under notice.

*Sārārṇava.*

A work by name Sārārṇava is referred to on page 564 of this ms. and nearly five verses are quoted therefrom. The verses are:—

शुक्लः स्याद्ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः शोणितः क्षत्रियो मतः ।

पीतो वैश्यस्तथा श्यामः शूद्रः स्यादिति दृश्यते ॥

कफक्षयकरो विप्रः क्षत्रियश्च त्रिदोषनुत् ।

वैश्यः पित्तक्षयकरः शूद्रः स्यात् कफवृद्धिकृत्

सङ्करः क्षत्रविप्रोत्थः कफत्रातविनाशकृत् ।

वर्णेन शीतरक्तामो राजवश्यकरो भवेत् ॥

कफपित्तविनाशाय वैश्यः शूद्रोऽथ सङ्करः

वर्णेन धूम्रवर्णः स्याज्जातरोगविनाशनः ॥

यत्र राज्ञो यदंशः स्यात् तस्य नाशाय जायते ॥

*Sārasaṅgraha.*

This is very probably a lexicon. Two citations from this work are available and they are:—

1. See page 538.

2. See Tīkāsarvasva, II-ix-103.



दूषीका पिच्छटी दूषी पिच्छं दूषिकेति च<sup>1</sup> ।

दीक्षान्तो यज्ञोऽवभृथः<sup>2</sup> ।

The author of the lexicon is not known.

*Sarvadhara.*

Sarvadhara and Sarvānanda are together mentioned thus :—

प्रत्यग्विमुखं पुष्पमस्या इति प्रत्यक्पुष्पी इति सर्वधरसर्वानन्दौ<sup>3</sup>.

This extract forms the commentary of the word प्रत्यक्पुष्पी in II-iv-89. The reading adopted by Kṣīrasvāmin, Bhānuji, etc. is प्रत्यक्पर्णी but Sarvānanda's reading is प्रत्यक्पुष्पी though he is not unaware of the other reading. Sarvadhara who is probably a commentator on the Amarakośa adopted the same reading as Sarvānanda.

*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.*

This is the grammar of Bhojadeva. Only one quotation is found from this work.

*Śatānanda.*

The name of Śatānanda is introduced in connection with the word पृषन्ति where it is said—

‘पृषन्ति बिन्दुपृषता’ इति द्वन्द्वात् पृषन्तिशब्द इकारान्तः पुमान् इति शतानन्दः<sup>4</sup> ।

We do not know who this Śatānanda is or what work he wrote. Did Śatānanda write on the Amarakośa? Rudraṭa, the famous Ālaṅkārika was a Śatānanda. Perhaps he is not the same as the Śatānanda referred to here.

*Somanandin.*

As the name indicates Somanandin should have been a Jaina writer. Pūjyapāda the famous Jaina philosopher had a pupil by name Somanandin and it is not unlikely that he is the same as the referred to here. The contribution of Jainas to grammatical literature in Sanskrit is great and Somanandin has contributed his share. Ujjvaladatta refers to Somanandin as an authority and we have in the work under notice the following :—

1. See page 385.

2. See page 443.

3. See page 254.

4. See page 139.



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अपगच्छतीत्यपगा इति सोमनन्दी<sup>1</sup> ।

Somanandin is older than the 12th century; he must be much older if he were the same as the pupil of Pūjyapāda.

*Śrīdhara.*

The following is the quotation from Śrīdhara in this work :

चन्द्रशाला तु बलभिः स्यातां प्रासादमूर्धनि<sup>2</sup> ।

It is clear that Śrīdhara is a lexicographer. What his lexicon was, we do not know.

*Śrīnivāsa.*

Śrīnivāsa, probably a lexicographer is referred to thus :

जीवोऽङ्गिराः सुरगुरुः वचसां पतिः याज्यः<sup>3</sup> ।

It is not known who Śrīnivāsa is.

*Subhāṅga.*

This is another lexicographer from whom there are four<sup>4</sup> quotations in the work under reference. Subhāṅga is referred to by Sarvānanda and he is therefore older than the 12th century.

*Subhūti.*

Subhūti is another old commentator on the Amarakośa, older than Ujjvaladatta and Sarvānanda. A big fragment of Subhūti's commentary<sup>5</sup> is available in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

*Tāpasimha.*

The views of one Tāpasimha are referred to<sup>6</sup> regarding the spelling of the word *Kāśī*. Tāpasimha held that the word could be spelt *Kāśā* also.

*Tārapāla.*

Tārapāla is another old lexicographer referred to by Sarvānanda and others and he is therefore older than the 12th century. There are a dozen quotations from Tārapāla in this work.<sup>7</sup>

1. See page 157.

2. See page 186.

3. See page 52.

4. See pages 152, 332, 416, 469.

5. In the further issues of this Journal the commentary of Subhūti will be noticed in detail.

6. See page 298.

7. See pages 129, 152, 206, etc.



*Trikāṇḍa.*

See Bhāguri.

*Umāmaheśvara.*

Umāmaheśvara seems to have been a lexicographer.

विरवुदिरव्रस्तथा विग्रो नासिकाविगतापि सा<sup>1</sup>

is the quotation from Umāmaheśvara in this work.

*Upādhyāyasarvasvam.*

See Dāmodara.

*Utpalamālā.*

Utpalamālā is an old lexicon. The work is cited as an authority in the Ṭikāsarvasva and therefore the work is older than the 12th century. The work is referred to thus—

सयक्षमरोगराजोऽयम् इत्युत्पलमाला<sup>2</sup> ।

*Utpalinī.*

Three quotations occur from a lexicon called Utpalinī in this work. In the opinion of Amaracandra, the Utpalinī is a composition of Vyāḍi. In the opinion of Sarvānanda Vyāḍi is different from the author of the Utpalinī. Whoever was the author, the Utpalinī is older than Sarvānanda.

*Vācaspati.*

Vācaspati is a sufficiently old lexicographer. The lexicon of Vācaspati seems to have been known as Nirṇayadīpikā according to the author of the commentary under reference. It is said<sup>3</sup>

‘दूर्वारुरुर्वारुरेव उर्वारुरिति चेष्यते’ इति निर्णयदीपिकायां वाचस्पतिः ।

On the other hand the couplet from the Hārāvalī referred to already has been interpreted to mean that Śabdārṇava is the name of the lexicon of Vācaspati. In the face of this reference we are obliged to reject the interpretation of the verse of the Hārāvalī which seeks to make out that Vācaspati wrote the Śabdārṇava. Vācaspati is older than Sarvānanda. We come across nearly 60 quotations from Vācaspati in this work.

*Vaikunṭha.*

Vaikunṭha is a lexicographer hitherto unknown. The following *ardha* from the lexicon of Vaikunṭha is cited:

प्रकारमूलबन्धेऽपि समूहेऽपि च यो मीतः<sup>4</sup> ।

1. See page 369.

2. See page 373.

3. See page 291.

4. See page 178.



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*Vasantarāja.*

There are three<sup>1</sup> references to Vasantarāja of which one is evidently from a lexicon. It runs as follows :

पल्लिका गृहगोधिका<sup>2</sup> ।

The other references are not from any lexicon; in fact we cannot say from which work they may have been taken.

*Vibhākara.*

Vibhākara who is referred to here is evidently a poet. The following quarter verse of his referred to in this work.

यद्दुर्गन्धि मदावितं मलशतैः यत्पूतिनाडीमयम्<sup>3</sup> ।

This quotation occurs in Sarvānanda's *Ṭikāsarvasva* in the name of Vibhākaravarman. So Vibhākaravarman is an old poet belonging to a period anterior to the 12th century.

*Vidyāvinoda.*

Vidyāvinoda Nārāyaṇa is a commentator on the Amarakośa. His commentary is available and detailed information regarding that work will be furnished in one of the further issues of this Journal.

*Vikramāditya.*

Vikramāditya is another lexicographer, older than Sarvānanda. It is to this author that the *Saṁsārāvarta* is attributed by certain scholars. Three<sup>3</sup> quotations occur in the name of Vikramāditya in this work.

*Viṣvaksena.*

Viṣvaksena is the author of an unknown lexicon. There are nearly forty<sup>4</sup> references to Viṣvaksena in this work.

*Vṛddhāmarakośa.*

In Smṛti literature we very often come across works of the same name with the words वृद्ध, बृहत् or लघु prefixed to them, as for instance वृद्धमनु, बृहन्मनु, लघुमनु etc. The Manusmṛti is the one standard work that we know of and the Vṛddhamanu or the Laghumanu must be regarded either an expanded or a condensed Manusmṛti. Similarly in lexicographical literature we

- 
1. See pages 110, 197, 317.
  2. See page 317.
  3. See page 82.
  4. See pages 194, 391, 506.
  5. See pages 70, 128, 225, etc.



have works like *Bṛhad Amara*, *Bṛhad Utpalinī*, *Vṛddhāmara*, etc. The *Vṛddhāmara* is referred to in this work nearly a dozen times.<sup>1</sup> Who compiled the *Vṛddhāmara* is not known at present.

### *Vyāḍi.*

*Vyāḍi* is an ancient lexicographer and grammarian. *Vyāḍi* wrote a work in 1,00,000 granthas a work on grammar and it is known as *Sangraha*. Unfortunately it is now lost. Whether *Vyāḍi*, the lexicographer is the same as that writer is yet to be determined. One reference to *Vyāḍi* among others is worthy of notice at present.

कमपि भूमुवनाङ्गणकोणमिति व्याडिभाषासर्मावेशः<sup>2</sup> ।

*Vyāḍi* must have written a *Kāvya*, in which there must have been *Bhāṣāsamāveśa* Sarga, as we find in *Bhaṭṭi*. What it is, one should discover.

### *Vyūḍha.*

The following verse,

लक्ष्मीसरस्वतीधात्रीत्रिवर्गसंपद्विभूतिशोभासु ।

उपकरणवेषरचनाविधासु श्रीरिति प्रथिता ॥

is cited on page 1 of the work as extracted from *Vyūḍha*. On the other hand the same verse is cited as *Vyāḍi*'s in the *Tikā-sarvasva*.<sup>3</sup> What this *Vyūḍha* is, one cannot say.

Thus we find that a host of writers and works, many of which are practically unknown is referred to in this commentary. Judging from these references it is possible to regard the author of this commentary as later than the 17th century. *Lingabhaṭṭa*'s commentary on the *Amarakośa* is one of the latest commentaries and since it is referred to in the work under notice, the latter must be placed after the 17th century.

1. See pages 14-15, 122, 203, 247, etc.

2. See page 185.

3. See page 2.



## THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

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VII

The legends which have been piously embodied in the sacred chronicles of Madurai could not have risen before the founding of that city nor before the raising of temples in it to Viṣṇu and to Śiva.

The earliest of the datable records in which allusions to the city seem to be traceable are the early Brāhmī inscriptions incised in caverns in the Siddhar-malai and the Aḷahar-malai, hills not far distant from Madurai. The inscriptions belong probably to the third century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and it is not improbable that Madurai is really mentioned in them.<sup>2</sup> The next of the datable references is to be found in Pliny (77 A. D.); he makes mention of the 'Mediterranean emporium of Modoura.'

The temple at Madurai dedicated to Śiva as the Lord Sundara seems to be at least as old as the Sangam period, for, it is mentioned in poems of that age.<sup>3</sup> So popular and well-known is the temple that it is needless to say anything about it except that through the pious labours of numerous kings and in spite of time and vandalism it is one of the grandest temples in this country and that it is impossible to discover in its architecture any traces which would take the present structure much earlier than the tenth century A. D. The temple to Viṣṇu as Sundara-rāja is also referred to in poems attributed to the Sangam period.<sup>4</sup>

1. K. V. Subrahmanya-Aiyar, in *PTAIOC.* 4 (1924 Madras), 280-2.

2. *Ib.* 290-9; Krishna-Sastri in *Ib.* 1 (1918 Poona), 342-6.

3. *Pt. Pt.* 6 *MK.* 453-5.

4. *Pari-Pāḍal*, p. 165. See also Gopinatha-Rao, in *ST.* (1906 A-S) iv. 541-3, and Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyangār in *Ib.* (1910 J-F) viii 111-4.



Of this temple it has been said that 'the central shrine was designed on regal lines, but was apparently never finished',<sup>1</sup> and that its execution is in the same style as that of the Vaikunṭha-Perumāl temple at Conjeevaram and the Shore temple at Mahā-balipuram,—that is, in the style evolved in the days of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II (c. 700 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> The Sangam period not being later than the third century A. D., both the temples must have been in existence by then, and both of them must in later times have been so completely rebuilt that not the least trace is now visible of the structures which must have existed as early at least as the third century A. D.

But it should not be concluded that the city could not have been founded before the 3rd century B. C., nor the temples raised before the 3rd century A. D.; the absence of positive evidence is no ground on which to assume a conclusion in the negative.

The legends concerning Madurai and the Pandyas fall into three main groups,—those which seek to derive the Pandyas from one or other of the famous figures of antiquity, those which would make out that their line was prolific of men of high attainments and great achievements, and those which are the products of an endeavour to make out that the kings of this line were the recipients of the especial grace of the Viṣṇu and the Śiva of Madurai.

The legends linking the Pandyas with some classic celebrities,—those of the first group—do not strictly fall within the scope of the present inquiry and will receive attention elsewhere, though we shall have to consider some of these legends incidentally in endeavouring to trace the origin of a few legends which pertain to the second group.

The legends narrating the achievements of the great king's of the Pandya line,—those of the second group,—can be traced from very early times down to the days of the degenerate

1. Francis, W., *Madura Gazetteer*, (1906) i. 273.

2. See Gopinatha-Rao, *op cit.* 543 n. We know of another temple to Viṣṇu (under the name of Kariya-māṇikka Peru-nāl), 'which formerly stood immediately south-west of the *Chinna mottai gōpuram*, of the great Śiva temple, but 'it was demolished' (Francis, W., *op cit.*, 269). This temple is different from the one round which the legends have gathered.



Pandyas of the sixteenth century A. D. These legends are not merely popular but are also of value for the purposes of history. They are divisible into three sub-groups. Those of the first sub-group have remained distinct and have preserved their individuality. In Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ's *Śilapṭṭi-Adihāram*, we are told of a Pandya who cut off his own hand.<sup>1</sup> The commentary on Iṟaiyaṇār's *Ahaṭ-Poruḷ* tells of a Pandya, Mā-Kīrti, who made the dēvas and the asuras friends.<sup>2</sup> The *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* preserves three legends of the Pandyas,—a Pandya learning Tamil from Agastya,<sup>3</sup> a Pandya securing amṛta for the gods,<sup>4</sup> and a Pandya effecting peace between two warring kings.<sup>5</sup> In the two ninth century grants of the Pandyas we have a few more legends,—the Pandyas having Agastya for their family priest and getting crowned by him, their defeating Agni and the enemies of the gods and employing the gods themselves as messengers, and a Pandya churning the milk-ocean with the Mandara mountain. In the other two grants,—of the early tenth century,—we have mention of practically all the legends embodied in the two earlier grants, and also a few more:—of Pandyas exacting services from goblins, bestowing a thousand elephants on supplicants, making Rāvaṇa sue for peace, going round the earth, and acting as ambassadors to secure victory for the gods, being pupils of Agastya, and being learned deeply in the śāstras and in Tamil. It is unnecessary to trace these tales in the records of still later days. To the second sub-group belong a number of legends which, of little value by themselves, are useful as indicating the course of the evolution of the legends of the first of the main groups already mentioned. The third sub-group is of importance in the present enquiry as it is from the legends of this class that those of the third of the main groups have been derived.

We may now pass on to a study of the third group of the legends of Madurai—those which narrate the deeds which Śiva

1. xxiii (*Kaṭṭurai*). 42-53; this legend is often referred to in later literature.

2. I. *AP*. 34. B. 210.

3. St. 93.

4. St. 214.

5. St. 245.

6. Most of these will be found repeated, for instance, in the 'historical introductions' to some of the inscriptions of the Pandyas from about the eleventh century A. D. See the list at foot of the next page



or Viṣṇu was pleased to perform for his devotees, the Pandyas. The growth of this group is interesting to trace, not merely because it gives us an idea, however vague, of the ways in which mythology and religion were made to subserve each other, but also because we are able, in the process, to perceive how from devotees of Śiva the Pandyas were transmuted into descendants of that god.

In none of the anthologies of the Sangam period do we seem to find allusions to the events which in the *Tiru-Vilaiyādal Purāṇams* are styled 'Sports'.<sup>1</sup> Iḷam-kō-Adihaḷ's *Śilapp-Adihāram* tells of a Pandya throwing a javelin at the sea and, perhaps, trampling it with his feet,<sup>2</sup> and also of a Pandya vanquishing Indra

TABLE of HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS in the published inscriptions of the Pandyas :

KING	INTRODUCTION	REFERENCES.
Śrī-Vallabha J.	திருமடந்தையும் ஜயமடந்தையும் }	<i>PI. T.</i> 243.
Parākrama M	திருமகள் புணர	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 6, 294, 298, 732.
Parāntaka J	திருவளரச் செயம் வளர }	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 297.
Śrī-Vallabha M	பூமகள் ஜயமகள்	<i>TrAS.</i> i. 21.
Vīra J	பூமடந்தையும் ஜய மடந்தையும் }	<i>TrAS.</i> iv. 125, vii. 3.
Kulaśēkhara J	பூதலமடந்தை	<i>TrAS.</i> ii. 18.
"	பூதலவளரிதை	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 293, 296.
"	பூவின் கிழத்தி	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 301, 428.
Sundara M	பூமருவியதிருமடந் தையும் }	<i>PI. T.</i> 246.
"	பூமலர் திருவும்	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 302, 412, 415.
Sundara J	பூமலர்வளர்	<i>PI. T.</i> 250, 256, 290, 323.
Vīra J	திருமகள்வளர்முலை	<i>SII. T.</i> iv. 372 ; v. 300, 431.
"	கொங்கீழங்கொண்டு	<i>SII. T.</i> v. 421, 440, 446, 448, 734.
Kulaśēkhara M	தேர்போல்	<i>PI. T.</i> 366.
		<i>PI. T.</i> 370.
		<i>SII. T.</i> iv. 426.

1. In the commentaries on two of the poems of this period (*PNN.* 9: 13, and *PtPt.* 6 *MK.* 61), attempts have been made to discover allusions to the abasement of the sea (*PPPN* 21: *PJ* 13), but in the texts themselves we find little to support the attempts. The comment on the latter passage comes in for discussion lower down.

2. *PPPN* 21: *PJ* 13; see *IKA. SA.* (xi. *Kāḍu-kāṇ.*) 17-22.



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and breaking his wristlet on Indra's head and taking the clouds captive.<sup>1</sup>

It has been assumed that a few of the 'Sports' are referred to in some passages in the hymns of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu<sup>2</sup> and Jñāna-sambandha,<sup>3</sup> and so long has the assumption remained un-

1. PPPN 44: PJ 14; see IKA. SA., xi. (*Kāḍu-kāṇ*) 23-30; xvii (*Āycciyar*.) *Uḷvari* 1-2; *Paḍarkkai*., 3: 11-2; xxiii (*Kaṭṭurai*), 50-1.

2. TABLE of possible references by TIRU-NAVUKKU-ARASU in his *Tevarams* to the SPORTS:

PPPN. PJ.	REFERENCE.	PPPN. PJ.	REFERENCE.
12 19 1	அதிகை நே. 25 : 2	31 23 1	காஞ்.மே.நே. 43 : 2
" " 3	ஆல. தா. 19 : 1	" " 2	கோயில். கு. 1 : 7
16 52 3	புத். தா. 76 : 3	" " 3	மறை. தா. 23 : 9
20 56 3	பூவ. தா. 18 : 9	" " 3	ஆருர். தா. 34 : 6
22 57 3	அதிகை. தா. 3 : 1	" " 3	வெண். தா. 36 : 6
" " 3	காள. தா. 8 : 4	44 14 3	புத். தா. 76 : 10
" " 3	சாய். தா. 82 : 2	47 49 1	அதிகை.நே. 25 : 2
23 32 3	ஆல. தா. 19 : 9	" " 1	ஆல. நே. 62 : 1
28 59 1	ஆருர். கா. 4 : 2	" " 3	ஆல. தா. 19 : 1
" " 2	வீழி. கு. 12 : 8	58 46 1	பருப். நே. 58 : 1
" " 2	ஆதிபு. கு. 100 : 7	" " 1	கண்டி. வி. 93 : 1
" " 3	நெய். தா. 41 : 5	" " 2	நள். கு. 68 : 5
30 61 3	பூவ. தா. 18 : 9	" " 3	சோற். தா. 44 : 7
31 23 1	கோயில்.நே. 22 : 9	" " 3	சிவ. தா. 87 : 6
" " 1	கோயில்.நே. 22 : 10	64 16 1	ஆல. நே. 62 : 1

3. TABLE of possible references by JNANA-SAMBANDHA in his *Tevarams* to the SPORTS:

PPPN. PJ.	REFERENCES.	PPPN. PJ.	REFERENCES.
2 2 2	ஆனே. இந். 23 : 4	38 63 3	ஆல. நால. 108 : —
" " 2	வெண். சீ. 48 : 7	41 49 1	ஆல. குறி. 94 : 7
5 6 3	ஆல. கௌ. 2 : —	55 42 1	கோளி. பழ. 62 : 9
15 51 3	ஆல. கௌ. 51 : 4	" " 3	ஆல. இல. 115 : 6
" " 3	கௌசி. பூசு. 54 : 11	59 46 1	சேய்ஞ்.பழ. 48 : 6
" " 3	தேவ். இரா. 74 : 11	" " 2	தௌளிச்.இந். 3 : 1
31 23 1	இலம். கு. 76 : 3	64 16 1	சேய்ஞ்.பழ. 48 : 1
" " 1	கடைமு.வி. 111 : 1	" " 1	முதுகு. மே. 131 : 7
37 62 2	ஆல. கா. 66 : 11	" " 1	வீழி. மே. 132 : 1
" " 3	ஆல. கொ. 39 : 11	" " 2	ஐயா. இரா. 32 : 4
" " 3	ஆல. கௌ. 51 : 11	" " 3	ஆல. கௌ. 52 : 8
" " 3	ஆல. பு. 120 : —	" " 3	ஆல. பழ. 62 : 9
38 63 3	ஆல. கௌ. 47 : 4	" " 3	ஆல. பழ. 115 : 2
" " 3	நள். சா. 87 : 8		



challenged that it is now difficult to make even scholars divest themselves of the ideas in which they have grown up and to re-examine the passages apart from the tales with which they now stand linked. The passages being too many in number to be conveniently examined here at the length and with the minuteness necessary to dispel deeply rooted notions,<sup>1</sup> we must content ourselves with saying that some of them are too bald and some are too vague for us to test whether they do really refer to any of the 'Sports.' A few passages seem to refer to miracles worked by the Lord elsewhere than at Madurai, and some others look like adaptations of well known legends. Indeed it is doubtful if most of the alleged references to the 'Sports' would not have been rejected summarily if scholars had only realised the futility of interpreting the language of early works in the light of latter-day romances.

The only satisfactory test is to determine whether the passages in which allusions to the Sports are traced would yield us these romances if read independently of the *Tiru-Vilāiyāḍal Purāṇams*. Let us therefore examine some of the passages which are claimed to be allusions, explicit or covert, to the Sports,—especially those which are held to allude to the Academies.

Would any one have thought of discovering in Tiru-Nāvukku Araṣu's words, 'He who is enshrined at Adiyaraiya-maṅgai',<sup>2</sup> a reference to the legend of Śiva marrying a fisherman's daughter<sup>3</sup> had he known that Adiyaraiya-maṅgai is the name of a village?<sup>4</sup> The confusion has arisen from the fact that the name of the village is capable of being rendered also into 'the maiden of the fisherman caste'.<sup>5</sup>

1. An examination of all these passages and, indeed, of the numerous passages in various Tamil literary works in which allusions to historical events have been suspected has been undertaken by me in a book, *Tradition and History in South India*, which I hope will be published in a few months. By way of illustration of the method I have followed I may be permitted to refer the reader to an article by me on the date of Māṇikya-vācaka: *QJMS*, xxii (1931 Oc.) 185-200.

2. அதியரையமங்கை அமர்ந்தான் தன்னை. *TNA. T.* 3: 3: 1.

3. PPPN 22: PJ 57.

4. Two villages known are; see *SI. T.*, vi. 287: 1; *SI. T.*, 78.

5. The word அமர்ந்தான் cannot be easily got over by those who make the passage allude to the legend.



In one of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu's hymns occurs a passage in a hymn,—‘Look at Him who was gracious enough to appear in the assembly as a poet of fine poems and presented the purse of gold to Darumi’. From this passage has been inferred the existence of an Academy at Madurai as envisaged in the *Tiru-Vilāiyāḍal Purāṇams* and Iraiyaṇār's *Ahaṇ-Poruḷ*. The popular impression, based mainly on these works, is that the Sangams were three in number, that they came one after the other in practically unbroken succession, that they were organised on a well-planned constitution with Presidents and Secretaries and Laureates, that they were housed in their own Hall and that they sat day in and day out and from generation to generation and for thousands of years and held convocations from time to time at which honours were conferred on scholars of renown. If we grant that such an Academy did exist it may not be difficult to imagine that the assembly before which the Lord appeared for Darumi was that Academy, but from the words of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu alone it is hard to evoke a picture of the assembly as limned in the pages of the *Chronicles*. To determine the character of the assembly in which, according to Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu, the prize was won for Darumi, we cannot do better than turn to a hymn of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu's famous contemporary, Jñāna-sambandha. In singing of the Śiva enshrined at Kaḷumalam he tells of poets receiving great largesses for singing hallelujahs to that deity; the hymn suggests that the presents were offered in the temple at Kaḷumalam in the immediate presence of the Lord for hymns composed on Him.<sup>1</sup> Of an assembly of a similar type we have an excellent example in the legend of Periya-Ālvār told in the *Kūḍal Purāṇam*. A king's mind is vexed with a doubt and his preceptor calls scholars together to resolve the doubt; but they fail in the task set them: the king then sends far and near for scholars to unravel the knot, and he offers a royal reward; scholars assemble and hold long disputations, and at last one of them emerges victor; and to him the king awards the rich guerdon he had announced. What is there in the tale of Darumi as told by Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu that could induce us to accept that it differs in essence from the assemblies of the

1. பாமருவதுலைப்புலவோர்பன்மலர்கள் தெரண்டணிந்துபரிசினாலே  
காமனைகள் பூரித்துக்களிகூர்ந்துநின்றேத்துங்கமுமலமே.

JS. T.1, Kaḷu, M3, 129: 9



kind envisaged by Jñāna-sambandha or in the *Kūḍal Purāṇam*? Disputations on problems of philosophy and assemblies of scholars are as old as the dawn of Indian culture. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa*, for instance, tell of a scholar, Uddālaka Āruṇi, challenging other scholars to a disputation and offering gold as a prize to him who would vanquish him in the contest. The practice was older even than the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, for that work itself speaks of the practice as an ancient one: 'in the time of our forefathers a prize used to be offered by the chosen when driving about for the sake of calling out the timid to a disputation'.<sup>1</sup> Teachers of those days had their assemblies of the learned,<sup>2</sup> and scholars used to be convoked in *paṛiṣads* to consider moot questions of philosophy.<sup>3</sup> The assembly of scholars is a cultural institution of much antiquity and great popularity,<sup>4</sup> and it has persisted even to modern times; but it has always been a casual body convoked to discuss a topic of interest or difficulty or to listen to and appraise a poem or a song,<sup>5</sup> but it never assumed the character of a permanent corporation. The tale of Darumi of which the memory is preserved by Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu must have been closer to the story of the *Kūḍal Purāṇam* than to the tale of the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams*: indeed, there is little to distinguish between Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu's brief tale and the elaborate narrative in the *Kūḍal Purāṇam* except that in the former occurs an

1. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi. r. l. 1-9; *Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa*, i. 3.8.

2. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, vi. l. 1; *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 11.13, 14.

3. *Gōbhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, iii. 2.40.

4. See Macdonnell and Keith, *VI*, i. 117 (Ṛṣi), and i. 497 (Pariṣad).

5. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri would admit that 'the practice of assemblies listening to new works and appraising them receives epigraphical confirmation' in later times (*JMU.*, 1930 D., iii. 28 n), but he does not point to one instance of such assemblies having had a permanent existence or a well defined constitution such as are associated with the Academies of the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams* or the Preface to the Commentary on Iṛaiyaṇār's grammar. Allusions such as those to which the Professor draws attention do not necessarily refer to academies of the kind contemplated by tradition: indeed, they go to support the contrary contention that the only literary assemblies we know of are the gatherings brought together occasionally as and when necessity arose for them.



ambiguous word (*śaṅgam*) which could with equal propriety be interpreted to mean an assembly or an academy. If further proof were necessary to show that the *Tiru-Vilāiyāḍal Purāṇams* present the legend of Darumi in a form varying greatly from what must have been the real facts, it would be found in the circumstance that Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu who is the first to tell the tale does not associate the miracle with Madurai at all; he would seem to have believed that the victory for Darumi was obtained at a different place,—Tirup-Puttūr,—for, it is in a hymn on the Śiva of that place that he makes mention of the miracle. The probabilities are that a miracle associated originally with Tirup-Puttur was converted into one of the 'Sports' of the Lord of Madurai when it became necessary to discover material for as many as sixty-four of them.

The passage in another hymn<sup>1</sup> in which an allusion to the legend of Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ<sup>2</sup> is generally traced tells nothing more than that the temple of North Ālavāy and the image of the Lord thereof stand on the very brink of the river Vaigai : it contains no hint whatever of the circumstances in which that temple was built or the idol of the Lord was installed in it,—much less of the tale of that temple having been raised in consequence of the Lord having deserted the great temple of Madurai in high dudgeon at the insult heaped on His great devotee, Iḍaik-kāḍaṇ. The passage cannot reasonably be relied on to support any theory which goes farther than that in the days of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu a temple to the Lord stood on the banks of the Vaigai.

We may now pass on to consider the allusions which are usually discovered in the hymns of Jñāna-sambandha. Three passages in his hymns are pointed to as allusions to the Academies. One of them says merely that the Pandya had round him an assembly of the learned.<sup>3</sup> Which Indian king was ever without his retinue of scholars ? Was not a Hall of Learning offered as tribute to Karikāla-Cōla by the warlike king of Magadha ?<sup>4</sup> The second passage is taken to refer to the assembling of poets in

1. வைககைத்திருக்கோட்டிநின்றதோர் திறமும்: TNA. T. 3. Pūva-Tāṇ. 18 : 9.

2. PPN 20 : PJ 56.

3. பட்டிமன் தென்னன் பாண்டியன் JS. T., 3. Āla. Kanu. 51 : 4.

4. மகதநன்னாட்டுவாள்வாய் வேந்தன்

பகைப்புறத்துக் கொடுத்த பட்டி மண்டபமும்

IKA. SA. v (*Indira*-), 101-2



an academy at Madurai,<sup>1</sup> but the assembling need refer to nothing but the bringing together of the four 'canopied' halls<sup>2</sup> in that city<sup>2</sup> or to the compiling of the books of selections known as the Sangam collections. The third passage<sup>3</sup> is hard to construe if an allusion to an academy is to be read into it, but becomes easy of interpretation if we take it to allude to the devotion<sup>4</sup> which suffuses the poet's poems.<sup>5</sup>

The only allusion to the 'Sports' which we can be reasonably certain of in the hymns of Tiru-Nāvukku Araṣi is the reference to the victory of a Pandya over Indra;<sup>6</sup> similarly, in the hymns of Jñāna-sambandha we may be fairly certain that the only references out of which allusions to the Sports could be spelt out are those relating to Jñāna-sambandha curing a Pandya<sup>7</sup> and his vanquishing the Jains in a disputation.<sup>8</sup>

The *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* refers to only two incidents which have been transformed into Sports,—a Pandya defeating Indra<sup>9</sup> and the carving the Pandya crest on Mount Mēru.<sup>10</sup>

In the two earlier sets of grants of the Pandyas<sup>11</sup> we find mention of a Pandya king bathing in the southern sea,<sup>12</sup> defeating Indra,<sup>13</sup> and incising the carps on Mount Mēru.<sup>14</sup> In the other two sets of grants<sup>15</sup> we have references to these three achievements, and to three more,—the founding of the city of Madurai by a Pandya,<sup>16</sup> his bathing in the four oceans in a single day,<sup>17</sup> and

1. மதுரைத் தொகையாக்கினனும் JS. T., 3. Kan. Pāśuram, 54: 11.

2. PPPN 12: PJ 18.

3. சங்கமலி செந்தமிழ்கள் பத்துமிவை வல்லவர்கள் சங்கையிலரே.

JS. T., 3: Tēvur, Śa. 74: 11

4. The word சங்கம் means 'devotion'; சங்கந்தரு முத்தியாம் பெற, MV. TSK. 85. In the old scholiast's comment thereon, சங்கம் is rendered into திரு அடிக்கண் உண்டாகிய பற்று. See also JS. T. 1: 47: 11: 4.

5. The passage would then refer to 'the hymn of ten stanzas abounding in devotion'.

6. PPPN 44: PJ 14.

7. PPPN 37: PJ 62.

8. PPPN. 38: PJ 63.

9. PPPN 44: PJ 14, I. AP. B., PK., 156.

10. PPPN 61: PJ 15; I. AP. B., PK., 52, 102, 111, 156, 202.

11. The Tēlvikkūḍi and the Madras Museum grants.

12. PPPN. 21: PJ.

13. PPPN. 44: PJ 14.

14. PPPN 61: PJ 15.

15. The two Śiṇṇamaṇṇūr grants.

16. PPPN 2: PJ 2.

17. PPPN 8: PJ 9.



his maintaining an assembly,<sup>1</sup>—and also to Śiva having been a Pandya.<sup>2</sup> The passage relating to the assembly,<sup>3</sup> is ambiguous: it may mean either that the Pandya 'maintained an assembly in the city of Madurai' or that he 'maintained the assembly of the city of Madurai': on the latter interpretation the assembly is obviously a civic one, while on the former it has still to be shown that the assembly was one of literati and that it answered to the description given by the chroniclers.<sup>4</sup>

The interpolated preface to the commentary on Iṛaiyaṇār's *Ahaṭ-Poru!* contains the first record of three Academies fostered by an unbroken line of Pandya kings, of Śiva himself being an academician, of some of the Pandyas being members of the Academies and of Rudra-Janman approving of the commentary on Iṛaiyaṇār's treatise.

The *Tiru-Vāśaham* of Māṇikya-vācaka is generally believed to embody allusions to a large number of the Sports, and, indeed, an impressive list could be made out of passages which, *prima facie*, look like references to the Sports.<sup>5</sup> But, most of the refer-

1. PPPN 15: PJ 9.

2. PPPN. 4: PJ 6.

3. 'Madhurā puric-śaṅgam vaittum'.

4. And yet, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri asserts: 'Surely only an academy or College can be meant'; *JMU* (1930 D) iii, 29 n. See also, Dr. S. Krishnaswami-Aiyangar, in *IA*. lvi. (1932 M).

5. TABLE of possible references in Māṇikya-vācaka's *TIRU-VASAHAM* to the Sports:

SPORT	REFERENCE.	SPORT	REFERENCE.	SPORT	REFERENCE.
2 2 4 —	162-3	27 58	See note	30 61 2 —	56-7
11 12	45-6	28 59 2	27-8	8 8	46-8
4 5 4 —	964	" —	33	13 16	61-4
" —	112	" —	36-41	30 2	5
8 10	57	" —	44-5	31 23 13 19	73-4
14 —	8	8 3	17	39 30 2 —	66-7
18 7	27-8	" 20	115-7	42 33 2 —	63-4
11 —	15	16 8	45	4 —	162-3
13 —	2	17 7	28	43 35 2 —	58-9
17 —	3	18 6	21-3	45 36 2 —	50 1
36 3	10	" 7	27-8	46 37 2 —	64-5
" 7	25-8	" 8	32	48 3	9-11
49 1	6	36 1	3	48 40 4 —	213-4
5 6 2 —	138	" 2	6-8	8 11	63-4
13 20 2 —	43	" 3	10-1	53 3 4 —	207-9
22 57 2 —	17	" 7	25-8	58 45 4 —	167
4 —	208	" 9	33-5	43 6	21-4
8 2	11-2	38 1	3-4	50 5	17
16 8	44	43 10	37-40	60 47 4 —	209
43 3	11-2	" 4	14-6	64 16 2 —	18
48 3	9-11	48 2	5-7	49 —	7
49 1	8	50 7	25-8		



ences are no better than similar ones in the hymns of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu and Jñāna-sambandha. On a critical examination, it will be found that even granting that the miracles over which Māṇikya-vācaka goes into raptures are identical with the Sports of the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams*, it is possible, from the language of Māṇikya-vācaka, to identify only one with the Pandya,<sup>1</sup> only two with Madurai,<sup>2\*</sup> and only three with the Pandya country.<sup>3</sup> Six of the miracles,—including two dealing with the Sports played for Māṇikya-vācaka himself,—<sup>4</sup> seem to be associated with Perum-Turai and not with Madurai; two miracles seem to be associated with Uttara-Kōśa-Maṅgai and one with Gō-kālī.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to find the miracle of the metamorphosis of jackals into horses<sup>6</sup> associated not only with Perum-Turai but with Uttara-Kōśa-Maṅgai and Gō-kālī as well. A list can be drawn up of Sports, the scene of which Māṇikya-vācaka would seem to lay at places other than Madurai.<sup>7</sup> It looks even probable, on a perusal of some of the hymns of Māṇikya-vācaka, that a few of the legends which now appear as Sports were known to Māṇikya-vācaka in versions varying greatly from the ones found in the *Tiru-Viḷaiyā-*

*Note:*—The allusions to Sport 27 : 58 being generally considered numerous, the references are not given here. They will be found in MMU. V. Sāmināda-Aiyar's edition of PPPN. *TVP*.

1. Sport connected with Pandya.							
SPORT	REFERENCES						
28 : 59	2	—	36-41	28 : 59	45	10	37-40
"	36	1	3	30 : 61	2	—	46-7
"	36	2	6-8	"	8	8	46-8
"	36	3	10	3. " Sports connected with Pandya	13	16	61-4
"	36	7	25-8	Country.			
"	36	9	33-5	SPORTS REFERENCES			
2. Sports connected with Madura.				4 : 5	8	10	57
SPORTS	REFERENCES			42 : 33	4	—	*162-3
28 : 59	2	—	44-5	48 : 40	8	11	63-4
"	50	7	25-8	*Not unless read with P 164.			

#### 4. PPPN 28 : PJ 59, and PPPN 30 : PJ 61.

5. Sports apparently connected with other places.				UTTARA-KOGA-MANGAI			
PERUM TURAI				22 : 57	16	8	44
22 : 57	43	3	11-2	28 : 59	16	8	45
"	48	3	9-11	GO-KALI			
28 : 59	8	20	115-7	28 : 59	18	6	21 3
"	43	4	14-6	6. PPPN 28 : PJ 59.			
"	48	2	5-7	7. Other places mentioned.			
"	48	3	9-11	SPORTS REFERENCES			
30 : 61	30	2	5	5 : 6	2	—	138 Tillai
31 : 23	13	19	73-4	27 : 58	2	—	*60-1 Venkadu
46 : 37	48	3	9-11	42 : 33	2	—	63-4 Patta-mangai
58 : 45	43	6	21 4	45 : 36	2	—	50-1 Puvanam
				*(cf. 2:—21.)			



*dal Purāṇams*.<sup>1</sup> In the result, it looks possible that according to the *Tiru-Vāśaham* the only Sports which were worked at Madurai and could therefore have gone into the Chronicles of the Sports at Madurai are those of the metamorphosis<sup>2</sup> and the carrying of earth.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Tiruc-Siṟṟambalak-Kōvai*, a poem attributed to Māṇikya-vācaka, occurs a stanza referring to Śiva examining Tamil at Madurai,<sup>4</sup> but there is nothing in it to suggest that He 'studied' Tamil as a member or as the head of an academy.

We may now take stock of the legends which down to the days of Māṇikya-vācaka were associated with Madurai or with the Pandyas,— omitting from consideration those legends which never showed signs of becoming Sports. The only Sports to which we have allusions from the earliest days of Tamil literature to the close of the eighth century A. D. are those of the abasement of Indra, the Mount Mēru and the sea. But nowhere are these attributed to Śiva; they appear merely as the achievements of the Pandyas. The hymnal literature in Tamil is replete with the tales of the Lord, but, down to this period, those tales are only those that are familiar themes in early Sanskrit literature. The only exceptions are those which connect Agastya with Tamil and those that are based on incidents in the life of Jñāna-sambandha. The allusions to miracles and Sports are very few,— and even they are not associated with Madurai; for instance, *Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu* does not even suggest that the miracle of the metamorphosis was enacted at Madurai, and he affords room for the suspicion that it was at Tirup-Puttūr that Darumi obtained the prize. Early in the ninth century legends become popular in which Śiva is made to appear as an Academician and to 'examine' Tamil at Madurai, and in the hymns of Māṇikya-vācaka He becomes a Pandya. From about the ninth

1. Other possible versions.		30 : 61	13	16	61.4		
SPORTS		31 : 23	13	19	73.4		
6 : 7	16	8	43.4	39 : 30	2	—	66.7
28 : 59	2	—	27.8	48 : 40	4	—	213.4
"	2	—	36.41	"	8	11	63.1
"	36	7	25.8				

2. PPTN 23 : PJ 59.

3. PPPN 34 : PJ 61.

4. சிறைவான் புனற்றி ஸ்லைச் சிற்றம்பலத்து மென்சின்னையுள்ள  
முறைவானுயர் மதிர்கூடலினாய்ந்த வொண்டிந்தமிழின்

MV. TSK., 20.



century may therefore be dated the popularity of the legends which make out Śiva to be concerning Himself with the Pandyas. Early in the tenth century A. D. we have two or three more legends which approximate in some degree to the miracles narrated in the *Tiru-Vilāiyāḍal Purāṇams*.

In the *Kallāḍam*, a book of about a hundred Tamil hymns of great literary beauty, we have as many as thirty-one of the Sports referred to at some length.<sup>1</sup> The hundred hymns are all in praise of the Śiva of Madurai and they attribute the Sports to Him. We have also a passage in which the total number of the Sports is set down at sixty-four. This work is therefore of considerable importance in this enquiry. But nothing whatever is known of the author or his date: he is variously assigned to the period of the poets of the Sangam, to a period much later than the ninth century A. D.<sup>2</sup>, and again, to a period later than the thirteenth century A. D. on grounds such as that he has not been

1. TABLE of references to the SPORTS in the *Kallāḍam* :

SPORT			REFERENCE			SPORT			REFERENCE		
PPPJ	PJ	Poem	No.	Lines		PPPN	PJ	Poem	No.	Lines	
1-64	1-64	வனப்புடை	98	12-4		20	56	கடன்மகள்	78	9-10	
1	1	பற்றலர்	30	4-10		21	13	பெருந்துயர்	77	13-7	
4	5	பூமணி	4	7-14		22	57	கல்லுயர்	17	21-4	
"	"	தன்னுழை	11	11-3		23	32	நின்றறி	47	14-22	
"	"	சூரவ	14	12-8		25	17	தன்னுழை	11	14-5	
"	"	நீர்நிலை	22	61-3		28	59	ஈன்ற	44	13-6	
"	"	வள்ளுறை	32	20-1		"	"	வனப்புடை	98	12-4	
5	6	குங்கும	19	7-9		30	61	கருங்குழல்	49	19-28	
"	"	நீர்நிலை	22	59-61		32	24	வானவர்க்கு	24	34-5	
"	"	வள்ளியோர்	28	26-8		35	27	வியரமுது	51	7-16	
"	"	உழைநின்	18	4-19		41	39	இலதெனின்	46	14-27	
"	"	கடன்மகள்	78	19-20		44	14	பொருப்பு	21	32-4	
7	8	வடிவழி	12	17-23		46	37	நிலைநீர்	82	11-9	
8	9	வேற்றுப்பிடி	27	37-9		47	49	புசிமயல்	48	8-10	
10	11	பெருந்துயர்	77	9-12		"	"	நெடுவரை	61	22	
14	21	ஈன்ற	31	10-11		51	—	விடம்	57	12-25	
15	51	பகையுடன்	5	10-8		53	3	நிலவுபகல்	42	19-21	
"	"	நீராமக	65	66-27						36-7	
16	52	அமுதமும்	3	9-14		54	41	கவைத்துநீர்	45	24-35	
17	53	அவ்வுழி	52	28-9		55	42	நிலையினில்	13	25-30	
18	54	பாய்திரை	Mu	47-9		59	46	வடமீன்	39	9-15	
19	55	"	Mu	52-5		60	47	முன்னியாடுக	41	39	

2. Gopinatha-Rao, in *ST*. iv. 261-2.



quoted from by the great commentators of the Tamil classics.<sup>1</sup> But three points in the work seem to justify a different conclusion: it tells the story of Rudra-janman;<sup>2</sup> it does not tell of the Sports associated with Jñāṇa-sambandha;<sup>3</sup> in narrating the legends of the metamorphosis<sup>4</sup> and the carrying of earth<sup>5</sup> it does not link them with Māṇikya-vācaka. In Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's chronicle Māṇikya-vācaka is indissolubly bound up with the two legends just mentioned, but the *Kallāḍam* does not know of him; had the poet of the *Kallāḍam* been aware of the Sports having been played for Māṇikya-vācaka, it is scarcely probable that Māṇikya-vācaka's name would have been kept out: the poem must therefore be earlier than the chronicle. The miracles with which Jñāṇa-sambandha is identified are not even alluded to in the *Kallāḍam*, in spite, on the one hand, of Jñāṇa-sambandha's hymns containing hints out of which the tales must have grown, and, on the other hand, of the *Kallāḍam* being a work devoted exclusively to the glorification of the Śiva of Madurai. But, the hints in Jñāṇa-sambandha's hymns seem to have been expanded into presentable legends by the time of Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi, for, he refers to them frequently in the panegyrics he has composed on that saint. The *Kallāḍam* should therefore have been written in the period intervening between Māṇikya-vācaka and Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi. The tale of Rudra-janman being for the first time narrated in extenso in the interpolated Preface to the commentary on Iraiyaṇār's grammar,—a Preface which seems to be assignable to about 850 A. D.,—and Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi appearing to have lived in the last quarter of the tenth century A. D., it looks probable that the *Kallāḍam* could not be earlier than 850 and perhaps, not later than 950 A.D.<sup>6</sup> Tales of as many as thirty-one of the Sports must have become popular by then,—that is, by the time of the *Kallāḍam*, in which they are first found alluded to. Still, it need not follow that when the author of the

1. Pandit T. V. Sadasiva-Pandarattar, in *ST.* xv. 113; see also the Introduction to the Ripon Press edition of the *Kallāḍam*.

2. PPPN 19.

3. PPPN 37, 38, 62

4. PPPN 28.

5. PPPN 30.

6. The argument that, the *Kallāḍam*, not having been utilised by the great scholiasts, must be later than them,—that is later than about the thirteenth century A. D.,—is not of much value, for works of undoubtedly much earlier periods,—such as the hymns of the *Tēvāram* collection,—are not quoted from by the scholiasts.



*Kallāḍam* set the number of Sports down at sixty-four he had in mind all the sixty-four legends as narrated by Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi. Some of the Sports might not have been fabricated at all, and the total number might have been fixed at sixty-four, not because as many Sports were then known, but because of some mystic significance having been ascribed to that number.

To trace the beginnings of these myths is not an easy task. So numerous are the ingredients which have gone to the making of the legends and so varied are the shapes which they have assumed that it is very hard to flake off the unessentials and reach the core of genuine historical fact in them.

Let us take, for instance, the legend which tells how the city of Madurai got its name.<sup>1</sup> The legend has been woven round the name *Madhurā*, but so frequently is the city referred to as 'South Madurai' in even the Chronicles<sup>2</sup> that there can be little doubt but that it was considered the southern counterpart of the *Mathurā* (Muṭṭra) associated with the Śaurasēnas and Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The Sanskrit word *Mathurā* becomes *Madhurā* in the Śaurasēni language, and, what is equally important, the change seems to be possible only in that language and in the Māgadhi, which is under heavy obligation to the Śaurasēni.<sup>3</sup> The form *Madhurā* would therefore seem to point to a period when among the inhabitants of the city were to be found those who derived something at least of their culture through Śaurasēni or Māgadhi channels. The city must have been named after the *Mathurā* of the north but must have come to be popularly known as *Madhurā*; then, the linguistic fact that *Madhurā* is only a variant of *Mathurā* must have been forgotten or ignored, and a legend must have been fashioned to account for the city being known as *Madhurā*.

The tale of the Lord bringing the seven seas to a sacred pool in Madurai to enable His mother-in-law to have a sea-bath<sup>4</sup> is not referred to earlier than the *Kallāḍam*. In a record which seems to be almost of the same period,—the latter of the two Pandya grants already mentioned<sup>5</sup>,—a Pandya is alluded to as

1. PPPN 36 : PJ 28.9.

2. For instance, PPPN. TVF., *Kaḍavuḷ-vāḷttu*, 14 and 62 : 25.

3. Dr. B. M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, 165-7.

4. PPPN. 8 : PJ 9.

5. Śiṅṅamanār Grant (Larger set of plates.)



‘He who bathed in a single day in the four oceans’. The two legends are similar to the tale in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of how Vāli when engaged in performing the *sandhyā* at the confluence of the four oceans was challenged to a combat by Rāvaṇa, how Vāli picked up Rāvaṇa, and, tucking him away under his armpit, flew from ocean to ocean and performed the *sandhyā* in all the four oceans.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, the legend in the *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇams* is no more than an adaptation of the much more ancient story found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,—the recasting having been necessary to make the story fit into the scheme of a *sthala-purāṇa* in which the pools, the trees and the like in the *sthala* have to be invested with the halo of sanctity.

Some of the legends are mosaics made up of pieces taken from various sources, and so heterogenous are the bits in a few cases that it is difficult to discover how from them the complete pattern was evolved.

An excellent illustration is the legend of the defeat of the ocean<sup>2</sup>. It appears occasionally mixed up with a tale of the Pandya obtaining lands in substitution of those swallowed up by the sea: so, to arrive at the earliest version of the legend we have to disintegrate the allusions and consider only those portions that relate to the miracle. The tale in the *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇams* is that when the sea advanced against Old Madurai, Ugra-Pandya aimed at the sea the javelin given to him by his divine father and that the sea, subsiding instantly, ‘laved the margins of his feet’.<sup>3</sup> The passage in Iḷam-Kō-Aḍiṇai’s *Śilapp-Adihāram* speaks of the ancient grudge which the sea bore to the Pandyas on account of an ancestor of theirs ‘proving to (other) kings his greatness with his feet and throwing a sharp javelin’.<sup>4</sup> The suggestion here is that the feet played an active part in quelling the sea, but in the *Chronicles* the feet play a merely passive role. The reference in one of the two earlier Pandya grants is to the effect that a

1. Ch. 39.

2. PPPN. 21 ; PJ 13.

3. . . . அடிவாழம்பலம்ப நின்றது . . . PPPN 21 ; St. 6

4. அடியிற்றன்னளவரசர்க்குணர்த்தி  
அடிவெலறிந்தவான்பகைபொறுது

xi. 17-8.

‘A sharp javelin’ or ‘sharp javelins.’



Pandya bathed in the southern waters.<sup>1</sup> This is neither the legend of the conquest of the sea nor that of the bathing in the oceans.<sup>2</sup> Of the two later grants, one tells that a Pandya 'sped a sharp javelin and caused the quick return of the sea'<sup>3</sup> and the other tells of a Pandya who 'threw a javelin to make the sea go back'<sup>4</sup>: but, the feet are not referred to in these. The *Kallādam* tells of the Lord causing His son, Ugra, to hurl javelins without intermission at the sea and make it boil and parch up:<sup>5</sup> here too, the feet are not even mentioned. The commentator on the *Pura-Nānūru* speaks of him 'who stood in the sea washing the margin'.<sup>6</sup> Nacciṇārkkū-Iniyar, in commenting on a reference to a 'great one who wore a golden garland on his breast'<sup>7</sup> says that he was 'the Pandya who stood, the margin being laved'.<sup>8</sup> Where did the Pandya stand and who laved the margins? And, the margins of what? One of the references cited above limits the number of javelins to one, while another is explicit that the number was large; the others are equivocal. How, then, did the legend run originally? The *Śilapp-Adihāram* does not know of the sea swelling up and threatening to submerge the land; perhaps, the tale as known to Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ was that a king sought to prove his command over the sea by throwing javelins at it and by trampling it with his feet, and perhaps the sea was more submissive to the Pandya

1. தென்னலராடி: (Madras Museum Plates.)

2. PPPN; PJ. 9.

3. வெம்முனை வேலென்றுவிட்டும் விரைவாவறித் கடல்மீட்டும்

(Larger Sīṇṇamanūr Plates)

The latter half is not easily intelligible.

4. ஒதமீனவேலெறிந்தும்:

(Smaller Sīṇṇamanūr Plates.)

'Threw a javelin' or 'threw javelins'.

5. நெடுநாட்டிருவயிற்றருளுடனிருந்த

நெடுஞ்சடையுக்கிரற் பயந்தருணிமலன்

மற்றவன் நன்னால் வடவரையின் கொழுந்துசுட்.

டாற்றாதுடலமு மிமைக்குறுமுத்தமும்

விளர்த்து நின்றணங்கி வளைக்குலமுழங்கும்

கருங்கடல் பொலிய வொருங்கு வேல்விடுத்த

வதற்கருள் கொடுத்தமுதற் பெருநாயகன்

77: 11-7.

6. முநீர்க்கண் வடிம்பலம்ப நின்ற னென்ற வியப்பால்

7. பொலந்தார் மார்பின் நெடியோன்: PNP. 9.

8. வடிம்பலம்ப நின்ற பாண்டியன், PNP. 61.



than it was to king Canute. When this legend is mixed up with the other one about the Pandya reclaiming lands from the sea, we obtain the tale of the sea being bidden to go back at the point of a javelin. But there is yet another element in the legend,— ‘the laving of the margins’,— which remains unaccounted for.

Very valuable clues are to be found, however, in the two related Sports,— that of the victory over Indra and that of the abasement of Mount Mēru. These Sports themselves seem to be based on certain legends which date very far back indeed.

Three great achievements are popularly associated with Agastya— victories over Indra, over the Vindhya and over the ocean. Legends tell how Agastya humbled the presumptuous Vindhya<sup>1</sup>, how he drank up the inexhaustible ocean<sup>2</sup> and how on his cursing Nahuṣa, a king who had attained the status of Indra, he was born as a serpent.<sup>3</sup> But, another legend of Agastya is not equally well known: when Agastya performed a twelve years' sacrifice Indra ceased to pour rain on the earth, and the assembled ṛṣis were afraid that the world would have to go for twelve years without rain; but Agastya, refusing to be baffled, threatened to change himself into Indra, whereupon, realising the power of Agastya's penances, Indra sent plentiful rains betimes.<sup>4</sup> The similarities between these legends and those narrated in the Madurai chronicles are too marked to be merely accidental, and, in the all too obvious absence of any evidence to warrant a suggestion that the Sports of the Madurai chronicles are even half as old as the cycle of legends about Agastya, the inference is not far-fetched that the glories of Agastya were transferred to the Pandyas. Such a transfer is by no means improbable, for, the Pandyas claim to be the disciples of Agastya: the achievements of the preceptor must have been attributed to the disciples.

The legends of Agastya, however, do not tell of a combat with Indra nor of a golden garland given by him nor yet of a mountain disgorging the treasures hidden in its entrails on its being struck down with a club,— incidents which loom large in the *Tiru-Vilāiyāḍal Purāṇams*. From the ancient purāṇas we learn

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1. *MB.* 3 (*Vana.*) : 103 (*Tīrtha.*) : 16 ; 104 : 1-15.
  2. *Ib.* 104 (*Tīrtha.*) : 16 : 24 ; 105 : 1.
  3. *Ib.* 103 (*Tīrtha.*) : 15 ; 181 (*Ajagara.*) : 30 : 43 ; 5 (*Udyōga.*) ; 17 (*Śainyōdyōga.*) : 1 ; 13 (*Anu.*) : 99, 100 (*Anuśāsanika.*).
  4. 14 (*Aśva.*) : 92 (*Anugīta.*) : 4-38.



that Skanda fought with Indra and vanquished him,<sup>1</sup> that Indra placed round Skanda's neck a garland of gold fashioned by Viśvakarma,<sup>2</sup> and gave him two companions armed respectively with thunderbolt and club,<sup>3</sup> and also gave him a dart for the destruction of the enemies of the celestials<sup>4</sup> and that Skanda, hurling the dart and innumerable arrows at the Mount Kṛāuñca and, striking it with his mace, rent it in twain.<sup>5</sup> The legends in the *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal Purāṇams* seem therefore to have been influenced by these tales of Skanda as well.

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1. *Ib.* 3 (*Vana*-); 226 (*Mārkaṇḍēya*-):
  2. *Ib.* 228; 25.
  3. *Ib.* 9 (*Salva*-); 45 (*Gadāyuddha*-); 34.
  4. *Ib.* 46; 44.
  5. *Ib.* 3 (*Vana*-): 224 (*Mārkaṇḍēya*-); 32-6; *Ib.* 9 (*Salva*-): 46 (*Gadāyuddha*) 80-91.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

VIBHRAMA-VIVEKA OF MANDANA MISRA: EDITED BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDYAVACASPATI DARSANA KĀLANIDHI S. KUPPU-SWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., AND VEDANTALAMKARA T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR (Published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras) 1932. Price As. 12. Foreign 1½ sh.

Students of Indian philosophy will welcome the appearance of this work ascribed to one of the greatest thinkers of medieval India. Maṇḍana Miśra was an elder contemporary of Śaṅkara and, though an Advaitin holding by the conception of *nirguṇa* Brahman, he differed from Śaṅkara in some important respects as, for example, in not recognizing the ideal of *jīvan-mukti*. The edition is based upon a single manuscript which shows lacunae in several places. But the learned editors have succeeded in restoring the text almost completely with the aid of those portions of Maṇḍana's other works which treat of the same topic. The theme of the book, as indicated by its title, is the problem of Error (*vibhrama*). It is sometimes stated now that not much light can be thrown upon the problem of knowledge by Indian thinkers whose prime interest is in ontology and ethics. But that is a misapprehension due to discussions bearing upon epistemology being generally found mixed up in Indian philosophical works with those on other points; and the publication of works like the present one dealing exclusively with that problem ought to be sufficient to remove it. The treatise is quite short, consisting of about 160 stanzas; and it is difficult in certain places, especially as the assistance of a commentary is lacking. But one of the editors—Prof. Kuppaswami Sastri—has contributed an English Introduction which discusses the question from various standpoints and elucidates what is obscure in the work. It is not possible in a brief review like this to enter into the details of this discussion. We shall content ourselves with quoting from it the following passage which states so well and so correctly the principle that underlies all the explanations of Error: "An intelligent attempt to review synthetically all the theories of *bhrama*



known to Indian philosophy will bring to light the fact that, in some manner or other, a negative element is involved in every one of the five *khyātivādas* (theories explaining the nature of *bhrama*). In the *asatkhyāti* doctrine, the negative element is obvious; and in *ātmakhyāti* doctrine, it is obvious in so far as objective externality is concerned. In the *anyathākhyāti* view, the negative element is to be found in the *saṁsarga* part or in the idea that one reality is presented as another reality which it is not or that a real substantive is presented as having a real attribute which it has not; and in the *akhyāti* doctrine, one can easily detect the negative element in the idea of non-discrimination (*aviveka*). The *anirvacanīyakhyāti* doctrine appears on the surface to eschew the negative element from the conception of *bhrama*; but, in fact, the negative element is replaced by *relativity* which implies a negative element and transfers the negative element from the side of object to the side of definite predications (*nirvacana*) with reference to the object."

M. HIRIYANNA.

A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDYAVACASPATI DARSANA KALANIDHI S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., (P. Varadachary & Co., 8, Linga Chetty Street, Madras, 1923).

Those who are interested in the spread of an accurate knowledge of ancient Indian thought have reason to be thankful that this work has been published. For its author has by long study made Indian philosophy peculiarly his own, and his intimate acquaintance with its literature together with the vast experience he has gained as a teacher easily singles him out as the best equipped for expounding the subject. Though styled a 'Primer of Indian Logic', the book gives a comprehensive account of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system, incidentally contrasting its views with those of the other Indian schools. It may, in fact, be described as a manual of Indian philosophy in its diverse systems and will be found to be an authoritative guide to their study. The book, however, does not stop at merely giving a faithful account of Indian thought. It successfully combines with it interpretation and criticism. For a striking example of one of these features, we may refer to pages 61-6, where the difficult and important problem of relations is discussed at length and its significance to



the various doctrines clearly pointed out in terms of modern thought. Such discussions should make a particular appeal to the modern student. The book is divided into three Parts. It begins with an Introduction which is valuable not only for the wealth of information it contains but also for the independent historical reconstruction which it attempts. The second Part gives the Sanskrit text of the well-known *Tarka-saṃgraha* and adds a transliteration of it in Roman characters for the benefit of readers that may not be conversant with the Devanāgarī script. The third Part, which forms the bulk of the work, contains the English translation of the Sanskrit treatise and an exposition of its teaching. The translation is as readable as it is reliable; and the exposition, concise and at the same quite lucid. The latter forms the most important part of the book; and even the advanced student of the *śāstras* will find fresh light shed in it upon points which have hitherto remained more or less obscure to him. Of the many instances that can be cited in illustration, it will suffice to mention only two—the splendid explanations of the concepts of *jāti* (pp. 22 ff.) and *abhāva* (pp. 55 ff.). In this portion also are found refuted some of the current misconceptions about Indian thought. It is for instance commonly believed now that practically all the systems are pessimistic, but our author shows how far this belief is from the spirit of Indian philosophy, truly understood. None of the schools built upon a foundation of despair; and some, as signified by the ideal of *jīvan-mukti*, even pointed to the possibility of achieving what may be termed a 'terrestrial paradise'. In one word, the book under review is a masterpiece of its kind; and we hope that the publication of works like it will help to place the study of Indian philosophy on a secure basis in our Universities.

M. HIRIYANNA.



JUST READY

FASO. I

**Dhvanyāloka by Ānandavardhana**  
AND  
**Locana by Abhinavagupta**  
WITH  
**Kaumudī by Uttuṅgodaya**  
AND  
**Upalocana by Kuppusvāmi Śāstri.**

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and 'the object of *vinai-k-kurippū*.' There is need for this laboured interpretation if the expression *vinai-y-ē-vinai-k-kuripp-pavviru-mutal* cannot give the desired meaning otherwise. But Naccinārkkinīyar takes it to mean the *mutaṇilai* or *kāraṇa* of *vinai* or *vinai k-kurippū*. This seems to me to be the correct one. Here the word *mutal* stands for the word *tolin-mutal* stated in the sūtra 112. It is taken to mean here *ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ* since *ceyvatu*, *karuvi* etc., are mentioned in sūtras 65, 73 etc. to be the meaning of the first case, third case, etc.

Teyvaccilaiyār takes the word *vinai* to mean *ceyal* or action and the word *vinai-k-kurippū* to mean *vinai-y-ār kurikkappaṭṭa poruḷ* or the object denoted by the verb. This interpretation does not seem to me to be satisfactory.

Note 3.—Cēṇāvaraiyar, in his commentary, states that the *ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ* or object is of three kinds:—*iyarra-p-paṭuvatu* (that which is made), *vēru-paṭukka-p-paṭuvatu* (that which is transformed) and *eyla-p-paṭuvatu* (that which is reached). This is exactly the translation of the following *kārikā* in *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari:—

*Nirvartyañ-ca vikāryañ-ca*  
*Prāpyañ-ca trividhm matam|*  
*Tatrēṣitatamam karma . . . ||* (Vāky. iii, 4.)

Note 4.—I venture to doubt whether the original reading was *tōṇruvatū* instead of *tōṇrumatū* in the last line of the sūtra. It is left for scholars to decide.

72. காப்பி ஒப்பி ஓர்தியி னிழையின்  
 ஒப்பிற் புகழிற் பழியி னென்ற  
 பெறவி னிழவிற் காதலின் வெகுளியின்  
 செறவி னுவத்தலிற் கற்பி னென்ற  
 அறுத்தலிற் குறைத்தலிற் ரெகுத்தலிற் பிரித்தலின்  
 நிறுத்தலி னளவி னெண்ணி னென்ற  
 ஆக்கலிற் சார்தலிற் செலவிற் கன்றலின்  
 நோக்கலி னஞ்சலிற் சிதைப்பி னென்ற  
 அன்ன பிறவு மம்முதற் பொருள்  
 என்ன கிளவியு மதன்பால வென்மனார்.  
*Kāppi n-oppī n-ūrti-y-i n-ilai-y-in*  
*Oppir pukūḷir pāli-y-i n-enrā*  
*Peral-i n-ilāvīr kātalin vekuḷi-y-in*  
*Cerali n-uvattalir karpi n-enrā*  
*Aruttalir kuraittaiḥ okuttalir pīrittalin*



*Niruttal-i n-alavi n-enṇi n-enṛā*  
*Ākkaliṛ cārtaliṛ celaviṛ kanṛaliṇ*  
*Nōkkali n-añcaliṛ citaiṇṇi n-enṛā*  
*Anṇa pira-v-u m-a-m-mutar poruḷa*  
*Enṇa kiḷavi-y-u m-atan-pāl-a v-enṇanāṛ.*

Ex. *Kāppū.*

1. A-m-malai kākkum...naḷli-y-avaṇ (Pura. 156).  
(He is Naḷli protecting that mountain.)
2. Eyil ōmpātū (Pura. 40).  
(Without protecting the fort.)

*Oppū.*

1. Uvavu-mati, mālai-veṇ-kuṭai okkum (Pura. 60).  
(The full-moon compares itself with the white umbrella with garlands hanging from it.)
2. Oḷ-ḷ-eri puraiyu m-uru-keḷu pacum-put-kiḷli-vaḷa-vaṇ (Pura. 70).  
(Kiḷli-vaḷavaṇ with anklets made of refined gold of fine colour resembling the well-lit fire.)

*Ūrti.*

Tērai ūrum.  
(He has a chariot for his vehicle.)

*Ilaiṇṇi.*

1. Kiḷavaṇai neruṅki ilaittū (Tol. Poruḷ. 150).  
(Having approached the lover and said.)
2. Eyilai ilaittāṇ.  
(He painted the fort.)

*Oppū.*

Kaḷaṇi-p paṭu-puḷ-ḷ-ōppunar (Pura. 29).  
(Those who scare away the birds in the fields.)

*Puḷal.*

1. Periyōrai viyattalum ilam (Pura. 192).  
(We have not praised the great.)
2. Niṛ paḷicci-c-cērum (Pura. 113).  
(We shall go after praising you.)

*Paḷi.*

1. Ciriōrai ikaḷtal ataniṇum ilam (Pura. 192).  
(Much less have we despised the low.)
2. Illārai y-ellārum eḷḷuvar (Kurāl. 752).  
(All will despise the destitute.)



## TOLKĀPPIYAM

59

*Peral.*

1. Yānai inattoṭu perranar (Pura. 153).  
(They received elephants with the trappings.)
2. Peruvar penṭir peruñ-cirappu (Kural, 58).  
(Women will receive great honour.)

*Iḷavu.*

1. Avar porulai ilakkum.  
(He loses his property.)

*Kātal.*

1. Tanṇai-t-tān kātalan-āyiṇ (Kural, 209).  
(If he loves himself.)

*Vekuḷi.*

1. Pakaivarai vekuḷum aracaṇ.  
(King who scorns his enemies.)

*Ceral.*

1. Pēṇārai-t-teṇutalum (Kalit. 11).  
(Destroying those who do not surrender.)

*Uvattal.*

1. Inra polutir perituvakkum taṇmakanai-c-  
Cānrōṇ-ēna-k kēṭṭa tāy (Kural, 69).  
(The mother who hears that his son is a great man feels  
highly pleased with the time when she gave birth to  
him.)
2. Nilai-y-ilḷā-p porulaiyum naccupa (Kalit. 8).  
(They like to have even transient wealth.)

*Karpu.*

1. Pallavai karṇum payam-ilarē (Kural, 728).  
(They are of no use though they are highly learned.)

*Aruttal.*

1. (Nī) tū aruttaliṇ (Maturai-k-kāñci, 188).  
(Since you destroy their might.)
2. Paṇiyai mārruvār (Kural, 225).  
(They will destroy hunger.)
3. Iḷaitāka muṇ-maraṇ kolka (Kural, 879).  
(Destroy the thorny tree at its infancy.)

*Kuraṇṭtal.*

1. Avan marattai uyarattai-k kuraikkum.  
(He shortens the height of the tree.)
2. Allar-paṭ t-ārṇa t-aluta-kaṇ nīr-anrē  
Celvattai-t tēyk-kunṇi patai (Kural, 555).



(Tears coming out of the eyes of the subjects who are not relieved of their distress form the means of reducing [king's] wealth.)

*Tokuttal.*

1. Tolu-v-iṭai āyan tokumiṇ (Tol. Poruḷ. 58. Nac.).  
(Collect the cows at the cow-stall.)
2. Avan nellai-t tokukkum.  
(He gathers paddy.)

*Pirittal.*

Avan vēliyai-p pirikkum.  
(He divides the hedge.)

*Niṟuttal.*

Nillā v-ulakattu nilaimai tūkki (Perumpāṇ. 465).  
(Having weighed the transitory nature of this world.)

*Alattal.*

Avai y-aḷantu aṟiyiṇum (Pura. 20).  
(Though one understands [their limit] by measuring them.)

*Eṇṇuttal.*

Turantār perumai tuṇai-k-kuriṇ vaiyat  
T-iṟantārai y-eṇṇik-konṭ arṟu (Kuraḷ, 22).  
(Recounting the greatness of those who have renounced the pleasures is similar to the counting of the deceased in this world.)

*Ākkal.*

Uvantārai y-ākkalum (Kuraḷ, 264).  
(Improving the condition of those who are friendly.)

*Cārtal.*

1. A-n-nilai<sup>1</sup> y-aṇuka vēṇṭi (Perumpāṇ. 467).  
(Desiring to approach the highest bliss.)
2. Neṭun-tēr ēri (Pura. 145).  
(Having got up the lofty chariot.)

*Celavu.*

Niṟ paḷicci-c cērum<sup>2</sup> (Pura. 113).  
(We shall go after praising you.)

- 
1. Note that the expression *a-n-nilai* is the literal translation of the Ūpaniṣadic expression *tat padam*.
  2. *cel + tum = cērum*.



*Kaṇṇal.*

Cūṭṭinai-k-kaṇṇum.

(He detests playing at dice.)

*Nōkkal.*

1. Uyaṅku-paṭar varuttamu m-ulaivu nōkki

(Pura. 150).

(Having noted the growing misery and indigence.)

2. Iruvarai-k kāṇīrō (Kalit. 9).

(Will you see both?)

*Añcal.*

Pali y-añci (Kuraḷ, 44).

(Fearing the slander.)

*Citaiṭṭū.*

Pūñ-kaṇ-makaḷir puṇai-nalañ citaikkum

Māya maḷi-ṇaṇ parattaimai (Kalit. 75).

(Harlotry which destroys the virtue of flower-eyed women.)

*Note 1.*—In some of the examples given above the second case-suffix is dropped. If the noun in the objective case precedes the verb which it qualifies, the suffix may be dropped on the strength of the sūtra

*Irutiṇṇu m-ṭaiṇṇu m-ellā v-urupum*

*Nerī-ṭaṭu ṭoruḷvayī ṇilavutal varaiyār.*

(Tol. Col. 103.)

according to all commentators except Teyvaccilaiyār. The latter thinks that it is inferred from the sūtra

*Ai-y-uñ kaṇ-ṇ-u m-allā-ṭ ṭoruḷ-vayin*

*Mey-y-urupū tokāa v-iruti yāṇa.* (Tol. Col. 105.)

If the noun follows the verb, even then the second case-suffix may be dropped on the strength of the sūtra Tol. Col. 105 noted above.

*Note 2.*—In the examples given above some nouns in the objective case govern verbs and others appellative verbs.

*Note 3.*—Iḷampūraṇar takes this sūtra and the previous one as one sūtra. If so, it gives room for sentence-split.

*Note 4.*—What does this sūtra deal about? It deals about the special meanings of the second case-suffix *ai*. The previous sūtra says that its general meaning is *ceṇa-p-ṭaṭu-ṭoruḷ*. It may be explained thus. In the word *ūrai* in the expression ‘avan-ūrai-k-kākkum, the part *ūr* means village and the case-suffix *ai*



near the verb *kākkum* suggests that *ūr* is the object of being protected. The special meanings of the suffix are determined by the verbs which the noun in the objective case governs. Since a noun may be the object to any transitive verb, it is not possible to exhaust all the transitive verbs in the sūtra. Hence the expression '*anna pīravum*' (others similar to them), is used here. One may say that this sūtra is unnecessary since the purpose served by it is realised in a general way by the previous sūtra. It is true; it seems to me that the special meanings of the second case-suffix mentioned here were those mentioned by his predecessors and out of regard for them he has codified them here. This is suggested by word '*eṇmaṇār*' at the end of the sūtra.

*Note. 5.*—The word *celavu* in the sūtra suggests that the root '*cel*' was transitive at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār. Thus the Tamil sentence '*avan ūrai-c-cellum*' (he goes to the village) is exactly similar to the Sanskrit sentence '*saḥ grāmam gacchati*'. But now the root '*cel*' is not so used. Hence we meet with the expression '*avan ūrukku-c-cellum*' instead of '*avan ūrai-c-cellum*'.

*Note. 6.*—The expression '*a-m-mutar-poruḷa*' in the sūtra is a *viṇai-y-āl-aṇaiyum-peyar* standing as an adjunct to the noun *kīlaviyum* and *mutar-poruḷ* means *ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ*. The word *atu* in *atan-pāla* refers to *iraṇṭām vēṇṇumai* mentioned in the previous sūtra. '*In*' used after the words *kāppū*, *oppū* etc. is only *cāriyai*. '*Eṇṇr*' used after the words *paliyin*, *karpin*, *eṇṇin*, *cilaipin* is only an *iṭai-c-col* used in the sense of the conjunction 'and'.

73. முன்ற குவதே  
ஒடுவெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி  
வினைமுதல் கருவி யனைமுதற் றதுவே.  
*Mūṇṇṇā kuvatē*  
*Oṭu-v-eṇa-p peyariya vēṇṇumai-k kīlavi*  
*Viṇai-mutal karuvi y-aṇai-m-utar-raturvē.*

The third case called *oṭu* denotes the agent or instrument of an action.

Ex. 1. Nīroṭu nīrainta...kaṇ (Pur. 164).  
(Eyes filled with tears.) (agent.)

2. (Peru-nāvāy) kaṭuṇ-kāl-oṭu karai cēra (Maturaik-kāñci. 78).



## TOLKĀPPIYAM

63

(Big ship) reaching the shore with the help of strong winds.) (instrument.)

Pal yānai-y-u m-ampoṭu tuḷaṅki (Pura. 63).

(Many elephants being shattered with arrows.)

(instrument.)

*Note*—1. Though Tolkāppiyānār has mentioned only *oṭu* in this sūtra as well as in Tol. Elut. 114, yet he mentions *āṇ* as a suffix in the sūtras

*Ōmpaṭai-k kilavik k-ai-y-u m-āṇ-un*

*Tām-ṭirj v-ilavē tokai-varu kālai.* (Tol. Col. 97.)

*Ku-ai āṇ-eṇa varūn m-iṟuti*

*A-v-v-oṭu civaṇṇ ceyyulullē.* (ibid. 108.)

after the second case-suffix *ai*. Besides he himself makes use of *āṇ* in many sūtras composed by himself.

cf. Colliya *muraīyār* collavum paṭumē. (Tol. Poruḷ. 5.)

Pāṅkaruṇ ciraṭṭir pallār rāṇum. (Tol. Poruḷ. 78.)

*Note* 2.—Though the suffix *oṭu* was used in ancient literature to denote agent and instrument, yet it began to be rarely used to denote them even at the time of Cēṇāvaraiyar. This is seen from his statement '*viṇai-mutal karuvi-k-kaṇ oṭu-v-eṇ-urupū i-k-kālat-t-aruki-y-allatū vārātū*'. In modern times the suffix *oṭu* is used only to denote 'association'.

*Note* 3.—Dr. Caldwell remarks that "Dravidian Grammarians have arranged the case-system of their nouns in the Sanskrit order, and in doing so have done violence to the genius of their own grammar... The conjunctive case, though it takes an important position in the Dravidian languages have been omitted in each dialect from the list of cases or added on to the instrumental case simply because Sanskrit knows nothing of it as separate from instrumental. The conjunctive or social stands in greater need of a place of its own in the list of cases in these languages than in Sanskrit, seeing that in these it has several case-signs of its own, whilst in Sanskrit it has none". (C. D. G. p. 277, 278.) He has made this remark so far as Tamil is concerned on the statement of Nannūḷ that the suffixes *āṇ*, and *āl* alone denote agent and instrument and *oṭu* denotes only association. But from this sūtra and the next and usage in ancient Tamil literature, it is evident that both *oṭu* and *āṇ* were used to denote all the three—agent, instrument and association.



*Aivarotu cinaii ir-aimpatinmarum porutu kaḷattoḷiya*  
(Pura. 2). (Agent.)

(So that the hundred may die in battle being treated  
with indignation by the five.)

*Peru-nāvāy kaṭuñ-kāloṭu karai cēra*

(Maturaikkāñci, 78). (Instrument.)

*Niṇ irum-pēr-okkalotū tiṇṇ* (Pura. 150).

(Eat with your large retinue.) (Association.)

*Tiyinār cutṭa puṇ* (Kural, 129).

(The wound caused by fire.) (Instrument.)

*Tūṅku-kaiyāṇ ṍṅku naṭaiya* (Pura. 22).

(Those having majestic gait with their waving hands.)  
(Association.)

Note. 4.—It seems only *oṭu* and *āṇ* were the original suffixes  
of the third case. Later on *ōṭu* and *āl* also joined with them.

74. அதனி னியற லதற்றகு கிளவி  
அதன்வினைப் படுத லதனி னுதல்  
அதனிற் கோட லதனெடு மயங்கல்  
அதனே டியைந்த வொருவினைக் கிளவி  
அதனே டியைந்த வேறுவினைக் கிளவி  
அதனே டியைந்த வொப்ப லொப்புரை  
இன்னு னேது லீங்கென வருதல்  
அன்ன பிறவு மதன்பால வென்மனார்.  
*Ataṇi n-iyara l-atarraku kiḷavi*  
*Ataṇ-vinai-p paṭula l-ataṇi n-ātal*  
*Ataṇir kōṭa l-ataṇoṭu mayañkal*  
*Ataṇō t-iyainta v-oru-vinai-k kiḷavi*  
*Ataṇō t-iyainta vēruvinai-k kiḷavi*  
*Ataṇō tiyainta v-opṭa l-oppurai*  
*In-n-ā n-ētu v-iñkena varuṇum*  
*Anna pira-v-u m-ataṇ-pāla v-enmanār.*

They say that the instrumental case denotes the object that  
stands as the material cause, the object that serves as an appropriate  
cause, the agent of an action, the object that is responsible for  
one's present state, the object of exchange, the object that is  
mixed with another, the object in company with another doing  
the same action, the object in company with another incapable  
of doing the same action, the object of unsuitable comparison,  
and *jñāṭaka-hētu* which may be expressed both by *iṇ* and *āṇ* the  
ablative case-suffix and instrumental case-suffix respectively etc.



## SELECT OPINIONS.

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

Q. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory. . . . . A journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— . . . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles: a pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— . . . . . The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review," November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. . . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . . .

"New India," 20th December, 1926.— . . . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.— . . . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . . . .

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.— . . . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— . . . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . . . .



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